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JUDA NGWENY/AFP

BEWILDERED IN KATLEHONG: *Children fleeing recent violence. Johannesburg's strife-torn townships have become caldrons of tension in which the violent rhetoric of radical groups is striking a chord with black youths.*

South African Democracy Talks Foundering Over Election Date

Disputes over regional powers, threats by militants slow transition

By John Battersby
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

JOHANNESBURG

ON the eve of a deadline for setting a date for the country's first democratic election, negotiations for a transition to democratic rule in South Africa are threatened by another crisis.

Militant youths, as well as township supporters of the African National Congress (ANC), had vowed to render the country ungovernable if negotiators failed to set a voting date by June 3. But the parties said June 2 that the decisionmaking negotiating forum would not meet until June 25 – effectively blowing the deadline.

Nonetheless, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's insistence that regional boundaries, powers, and functions should be entrenched before an election remains the difficult obstacle in the talks.

"I don't think the major parties have yet settled the central issue of how political power is to be divided," says Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, a political analyst close to the talks. "In its present form the negotiating process has the potential for infinite delays."

Negotiators at the 26-party multiracial forum are racing against time to reach consensus on a transitional council and a set of constitutional principles that will steer an elected constitution-making body after the country's first democratic ballot, which negotiators have agreed should take place before the end of April next year.

But since multilateral talks resumed April 1, the process has been delayed by an eruption of anger following the assassination of black leader Chris Hani on April 10 and the surprise crackdown last month on the militant Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC).

It now appears unlikely that the forum will reach consensus on an election date by June 3.

Political scientists and diplomats who have recently held talks

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AFTER A YEAR OF UN CURBS

Serbia's Economy Falters, but Not From Sanctions

But embargoes have boosted the fortunes of black-marketeers; gas is still easy to come by

By Jonathan S. Landay
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BELGRADE

ONE year after United Nations sanctions were imposed on Serbia and Montenegro, gasoline and other proscribed foreign items remain plentiful – gas, for instance, is easily obtained for about $4.50 a gallon from the country's many black-marketeers.

Such abundance raises questions about the effectiveness of the sanctions, which include petroleum and trade embargoes aimed at punishing the rump Yugoslav union for its sponsorship of the Bosnian Serb division of neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina.

But even amid such plenty, only a shrinking minority of the country's 10.5 million people can afford the prices of smuggled goods or the much lower costs of many domestic products, including basic commodities, because of hyper-inflation.

The price surges – more than 280,000 percent since May 1992 – are just one indication that what was the most affluent country in the former communist world is in the throes of total economic collapse.

Other signs include:

■ About 2.6 million people, out of a work force of 3.4 million, are unemployed or on "forced vacation" from factories and companies idled by sanctions.

■ The average monthly income has fallen to $25.

■ Production dropped 40 percent over the past year.

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California Gets Its 'GTV' As Governor Hits Airwaves

By Daniel B. Wood
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

IT'S the Perot-ization of American politics, with a new twist.

"People say to me, 'Governor, don't raise my taxes, ... and don't cut my services,' " says Gov. Pete Wilson (R) of California, standing in front of an easel full of pie charts, statistics, and bar graphs.

"So I ask them: You don't want to cut education?" "No!"

"You don't want to cut public safety and let dangerous criminals out of prison?" "Of course not!"

"And you don't want to cut health and welfare?" "Not much."

"Well then, that leaves us only about 9 percent of the whole state general fund from which to make cuts that you might accept ... and that's just not possible when state government is just like the family which has suffered a loss of one-third of its entire income."

Minus the backup dancers, glitzy editing, and driving music, the chief executive of the nation's largest state has stolen a step from MTV. And though he is unabashedly copying the "informer-

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Boston-area citizens protest the burden of soaring water rates to pay for cleaning up their harbor.
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Investment Firm Meets Art Market
Fidelity Capital takes a chance on a chain of art galleries, and revenues soar.
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AFP

Japan's New Princess
The June 9 wedding of Crown Prince Naruhito and Masako Owada highlights the evolving role of women in Japanese society.
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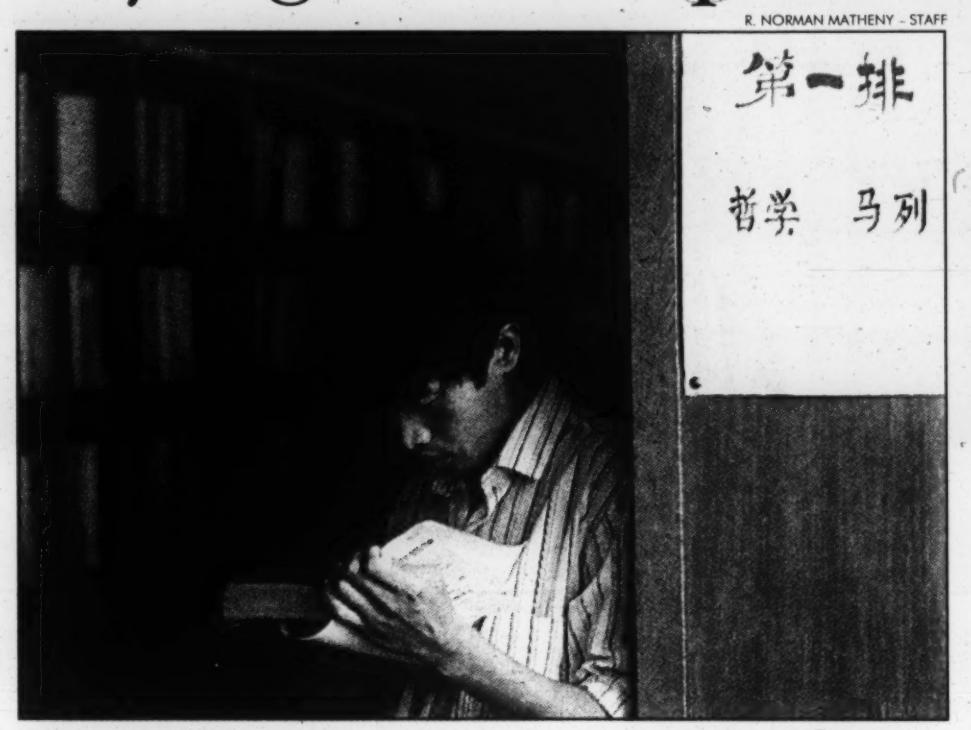
INTERNATIONAL

China's Universities Are Trying to Compete

Four years after political turmoil, the effects of reform are forcing China to reconsider how it educates its power elite



R. NORMAN MATHENY - STAFF

HENAN UNIVERSITY: *Class sizes are falling short of projections, causing universities to lower admission standards and acknowledge competition in higher education.*

By Sheila Tefft
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BEIJING

THERE was a time when Beijing University was assured of enrolling China's brightest and best. No longer.

Last year, the prestigious university failed to fill its freshman class, rebuffed by hundreds of students anxious to avoid required one-year military training and the grip of Beijing's communist ideologues.

Government officials and university administrators contend that Beida, as the university is known in Chinese shorthand, fell only six to 10 students short of the planned class of 2,220. But many professors and observers say the shortfall was several hundred, forcing the university to lower admissions standards and acknowledge a new competition in Chinese higher education.

BEIJING CAMPUSES
4 YEARS AFTER TIANANMEN

"Beijing was considered the best city in China to study, but that's changing," says a professor at Beijing Normal University, among the capital's elite institutions. "Now students want to stay in the south or be on the coast because they have more opportunities and can make more money."

Four years after political upheaval shook Beijing campuses, reforms in the economy and higher learning are changing how China educates its power elite. Under orthodox Marxism in China, these universities often were considered tools of ideology and indoctrination. They recruited only the most politically reliable for training as party technocrats and economic planners.

Now, financial crisis and market reforms are rewriting the role of universities in a changing society. A new moneyed elite is emerging, relying on the clout of the marketplace more than a diploma and political connections.

"In China, people were educated to be officials and serve the communist regime. Now the sacredness of being an official is fading away, because current policy allows individuals to find their own breathing space outside the official hierarchy," says Chen Xiaoping, a law professor at Beijing's University of Politics and Law who lost his job for his role in the 1989 democracy movement. "In the future, the elite will not be centered in Beijing and people's ideas of prestigious universities will change."

Recently, the government has prodded Beijing's staid campuses into new policies that will reshape the pinnacle of the world's largest education system, analysts say.

After years of official reticence to expand university enrollment and take the political risk of recruiting more educated youths for urban campuses, the government plans to double student numbers in higher education and adult education institutions to 5.5 million by the turn of the century, says Zhou Yuanqing, director of higher education at the State Education Commission.

One hundred universities, about one-tenth of China's higher education institutions, will be expanded and strengthened, and two-year and three-year colleges will be added.

Both students and administrations will gain autonomy under the changes. With shrinking government funds providing less than 80 percent of college budgets today, state-funded students, once the cream of the crop, are sharing classrooms with more youths paying their own tuition, a signal that money, more than political connections, will decide who goes to college in China in the future.

By Chinese press estimates, one in seven college students pays his own way, and many universities hope to increase that to 25 percent in the next five years, Chinese observers say. That will start to bring China, which now educates only about 3 percent of college-aged youths, closer to developed countries' rate of 20 to 30 percent.

For the first time since students undertook their own job-hunting in 1985, the majority is fashioning their own futures rather than relying on state placement. And the government has relaxed controls on students who want to go abroad if they are willing to pay a special charge.

With college enrollments now allowed to rise about 6 percent yearly for most institutions and 8 percent annually for coastal universities, campus facilities already stretched will face increased pressure. Universities are openly soliciting foreign investors to bring in desperately needed capital and research funds, and privately funded universities are beginning to emerge.

Curricula heavy on Marxist ideology are giving way to courses in accounting, business management, and other pragmatic disciplines in bids to boost colleges' recruitment of the brightest students. Cash-strapped administrations are starting their own companies, and for the first time, professors are being allowed to seek second jobs to augment their meager pay.

In a comment mirroring official ambivalence about granting such powers to campuses, Mr. Zhou, the state education official, says such university enterprises are still at "an infant stage" and admits he "worries" that campus officials are spending so much time managing businesses rather than educating.

Chinese analysts say the upshot is that economic change is forcing some political loosening on university campuses. This year, the State Education Commission chose to reduce the one-year military training at Beida and Fudan University in Shanghai, mainly because the two schools were losing out in student recruitment to coastal institutions.

Beida has paid a high price for political restrictions imposed after 1989 when Marxist study was reinforced and a hard-line administration was installed.

Professors and students welcome the economic changes, but they say it will take more to revive the academic vitality drained off since 1989.

"The atmosphere is very dull. But Beida has a long tradition of free thinking, and I think that tradition will go on," says a senior professor. "After June the 4th, Beijing University suffered temporary wounds. But as the Chinese saying goes, a spark can set a prairie fire."

Black Sea Fleet Dispute Clouds Other Issues

By Justin Burke
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MOSCOW

TENSION is flaring within the disputed Black Sea Fleet, threatening to blow off course efforts by Russian and Ukrainian leaders to deal with pressing issues at home.

Control of the 380-vessel fleet has been hotly contested since the Soviet breakup in 1991. The latest trouble began in mid-May when support ships began raising the Russian naval banner in place of the neutral naval ensign of the former Soviet Union.

Ukrainian officials denounced the action as a violation of a fleet-sharing pact reached last year that called for the ensign to be flown until the fleet was formally divided in 1995. Russians blame Ukraine for the tension, saying Kiev is not properly maintaining the fleet.

After President Leonid Kravchuk called for immediate talks with his Russian counterpart on the issue, an aide to President Boris Yeltsin said the Russian leader was willing to meet.

Interfax news agency reported that Mr. Yeltsin and Mr. Kravchuk would meet in mid-June. Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev will visit Kiev June 7 to organize the summit.

The flare-up comes at an inopportune time for both leaders, who are facing difficult domestic reform issues.

Ukraine's economic crisis has worsened since parliament's refusal in mid-May to renew Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma's special powers on economic issues. In Moscow, Mr. Yeltsin is preoccupied with efforts to break conservative and nationalist opposition to his economic reforms through the promulgation of a new Russian Constitution.

Nationalists in Moscow already have stirred things up by laying claim to the Crimean Peninsula city of Sevastopol, the Black Sea Fleet headquarters. They cite an obscure 1948 Soviet government resolution that subordinated Sevastopol directly to Moscow. Some Russian parliament leaders are also calling for revisions of the Black Sea Fleet pact. Ukraine is adamantly opposed to sharing Sevastopol's facilities.

Alexander Konovalov of Moscow's USA-Canada Institute suggests that the renewed wrangling could have international reverberations, providing Ukraine with a pretext for not following through on nuclear disarmament plans on the grounds the weapons are needed to protect against a perceived security threat from Moscow.

The Ukrainian parliament is now debating ratification of the START nuclear disarmament treaty.

Israeli-Libyan Exchange Turns Into Political Fiasco

Many see tour as Libya's attempt to break UN-imposed embargoes

By Elaine Ruth Fletcher
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

JERUSALEM

A VISIT by 192 Libyan pilgrims to Jerusalem that was supposed to herald a rapprochement between Israel and Libya turned into a political fiasco for Israel June 1 after the Libyan delegation called on Muslims "all over the world to liberate Jerusalem and make it the capital of the Palestinian state." The pilgrims then announced they would leave a day early.

Libyan Jewish leaders, who have spent the last two years trying to organize the rapprochement, expressed concern that the diplomatic controversy could jeopardize further Israeli-Libyan exchanges.

The rift also fueled the suspicions of right-wing Israelis, who saw the tour as an attempt by Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi to break an arms and travel embargo imposed by the United Nations in 1991.

Hitting a sour note

The Libyan visit marked the first time in Israel's 45-year history that a formal delegation of Muslim pilgrims has come to visit the Jewish state.

Not even Egypt, which has maintained a peace treaty with Israel for the past 15 years, has sent groups of Muslim pilgrims to Jerusalem, worried that such a move could imply tacit recognition of Israeli sovereignty over Muslim and Jewish holy sites in Jerusalem that were captured in the 1967 Arab-Israeli conflict.

The surprise visit began May 31 with an official reception by Israeli Tourism Minister Uzi Baram and Foreign Ministry officials who welcomed the visit as evidence of new moderation by Colonel Qaddafi toward Israel and the West.

But the high-profile, four-day tour apparently went sour after the leader of the Libyan delegation, Dahub Tajari, took umbrage at disparaging comments from Israeli Deputy Foreign Minister Yossi Beilin about Libya, and his treatment on a popular evening Israeli television show May 31.

In a June 1 press conference, Mr. Tajari declared that "Israel is not a state with a border but the name of a prophet," and expressed sympathy for "the Palestinian deportees [expelled by Israel last December on charges of terrorism], the stone throwers [in the Israeli-occupied territories], and the struggle to liberate Jerusalem."

Previously, the pilgrims, mostly simple farmers and Bedouins, had refused to discuss politics.

Tourism Minister Baram immediately announced that his government office was ending its sponsorship of the pilgrimage, which had been billed as a strictly religious visit to Jerusalem's Al-Aqsa Mosque, Islam's third most holy site.

The pilgrimage was to be followed by a July 15 "reconciliation" visit to Libya by a delegation of Libyan-born Israeli Jews and by a Christian-Muslim-Jewish "trialogue" in Tripoli in October, according to Rafael Fellah, president of the World Association of Libyan Jews and a key player in the rapprochement.

Following the press conference, however, right-wing Israeli politicians were calling for the Libyan pilgrims to be deported.

'Israel doesn't have to be the country to give legitimization to Libya; we don't have to be the experiment.'
– Israeli deputy foreign minister

Deputy Foreign Minister Beilin said he would not recommend that Israelis undertake the planned visits to Libya: "Israel doesn't have to be the country to give legitimization to Libya; we don't have to be the experiment."

Mr. Fellah said he believed the pilgrims made the unexpected declarations partly "because they were irritated" by the intense publicity. But it also appeared that pilgrims' moves were coordinated with Qaddafi, who initially sanctioned the visit.

Israeli analysts and officials speculated that the visit was a clever maneuver by Qaddafi to break the UN-imposed travel and air sanctions on his country and open up a channel of communication with the West.

The UN sanctions were imposed following the implication of two Libyan nationals in the 1988 bombing of a Pan Am jet over Lockerbie, Scotland, that killed all 270 people aboard.

Fellah met with the Libyan leader in February, as part of a series of Italian-mediated contacts between Libya and Israel, to pave the way for the Israeli-Libyan exchanges.

But others were also involved in organizing the trip. Yaacov Nimrodi, an Iraqi-born Israeli arms broker, organized the travel arrangements for the Libyan group together with Saudi business partner Adnan Khashoggi, as part of a business venture designed to bring even more Muslim groups to Jerusalem.

Both Mr. Nimrodi and Mr. Khashoggi were implicated in the Iran-Contra scandal in which the Reagan administration illegally diverted the proceeds of arms sales to Iran to US-backed rebels in Nicaragua.

Libyan Jews' hopes

The Libyan pilgrims also were given an emotional reception by Libyan-born Israeli Jews, who expressed hope that the visit would end 40 years of estrangement from their home land.

"For me it is a very exciting day. We have been reunited in a way," said Libyan-born Israeli professor of International Affairs, Maurice Roumani after chatting and drinking coffee with the pilgrims on May 31 in his native Arabic. Roumani left Libya in 1950 during the mass emigration of the 40,000-member Jewish community.

The Libyan pilgrimage visit was quickly denounced the Palestine Liberation Organization in Tunis as an unwelcome sign of "normalization" of ties with Israel prior to the conclusion of the Middle East peace talks.

West Bank Palestinians, meanwhile, said that they believed the dispatch of Libyan pilgrims to Jerusalem was in fact a Qaddafi signal of displeasure with Saudi Arabia, which has refused to allow direct overflights of Libyan planes since the imposition of UN air sanctions.

That contention seemed to be bolstered by statements from the pilgrims themselves, who said that they had originally planned to make the annual Hajj pilgrimage to Islam's most holy site in the Saudi city of Mecca but were refused entrance by Saudi Arabia.

CAMBODIAN ELECTION PROTEST

Ruling Communists Think Twice About Handing Over Power

By Kathy Chenault
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

PHNOM PENH, CAMBODIA

STUNG by results showing heavy support at the polls for the royalist opposition, Cambodia's ruling party has appealed for new elections in areas where it claimed fraud had occurred and threatened to refuse to recognize the outcome of the balloting.

"We cannot recognize the result of the election if it is not free and fair," Sok An, deputy chief of the Cambodian People's Party (CPP), said at a news conference on June 1.

UN spokesman Eric Falt said that Yasushi Akashi, the United Nations special representative to Cambodia, and other top officials with the UN force discussed the CPP's complaints with party leaders. Mr. Akashi told the party leaders they would have to present evidence to back up their claims of vote fraud before UN officials could consider their protest, Mr. Falt said.

Mr. Sok refused to give specifics of the party's complaints but said they included alleged inconsistencies with ballot records and counting, concerns that seals on some boxes were broken, and a party contention that representatives of the royalist opposition United National Front for an Independent, Peaceful, Neutral, and Cooperative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC) had improperly been allowed to enter a compound where ballots were stored.

He refused to say if the party had any evidence of actual tampering with the ballots. The technical discrepancies would not have significant impact on the overall election results.

The allegations raised the first serious doubt about the legitimacy of the elections that drew 89 percent of registered voters to the polls and were quickly declared free and fair by top UN officials, clearing the way for recognition by individual nations.

The elections – the country's first multiparty ballot in 21 years – were part of a $2 billion UN plan to bring peace and democracy to Cambodia after two decades of war and turmoil.

UN officials rejected the CPP's demand for new elections in the capital of Phnom Penh and the provinces of Kompong Chhnang, Prey Veng, and Battambang.

In the first substantial results released from Kompong Cham, the country's most populous province, UN officials said that with 40 percent of the ballots counted, FUNCINPEC had 139,898 votes, or 56 percent. The CPP had 79,040, or 32 percent. Those results indicated the CPP was headed for a bitter defeat in Kompong Cham, which will have 18 seats in the new 120-member assembly.

With 60 percent of regular ballots counted nationwide, FUNCINPEC had received 984,157 or 42.3 percent support, compared with CPP's 886,640 votes for 37.2 percent. But those figures do not give a clear indication of the likely makeup of the future assembly, because seats will be allocated by province, not according to proportional representation nationwide.

Eighteen other parties also ran candidates in the elections, but they were running far behind the leaders.

The areas being disputed by the CPP account for 33 of the assembly seats to be allocated based on results of UN-monitored elections held last week.

The Cambodian peace process has nearly collapsed several times because of the failure to disarm combatants, political violence and intimidation attributed largely to the ruling party during the election campaign, and brutal pre-election attacks by Khmer Rouge guerrillas, who originally signed the accord in 1991 but later pulled out and boycotted the voting.

The move toward an election protest by the CPP reflected growing uneasiness within the leadership over the prospects of relinquishing control of the country or being forced to share power with the royalist FUNCINPEC. The party leadership, which controls the military and police, could cause major problems by refusing to cooperate with the new government in providing security and administration of the country during the transition of power.

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with President Frederik de Klerk are hopeful that the election date will be resolved within the next week or two and agreement on a transitional package will be agreed by the end of the month.

Mr. De Klerk and ANC President Nelson Mandela hold no major differences on the date, according to analysts, and planned to meet June 2.

Hopes for a long-awaited meeting between ANC President Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi were raised May 30 at a surprise meeting between Buthelezi and Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe.

Mr. Mugabe, who has in the past been one of Buthelezi's most

'De Klerk's party is in shreds.... All he has left now is ... the civil service and the security forces.'

– Political scientist

vociferous critics, has agreed to act as a mediator between Mandela and Buthelezi in a bid to help quell escalating political violence in the country, which threatens to render a negotiated settlement unworkable in the strife-torn townships and rural areas of Natal Province.

Black townships around Johannesburg, which erupted in a new wave of violence last week, remain caldrons of tension in which the angry and violent rhetoric of the PAC is striking more of a chord with black youth than the more moderate ANC position.

The predominantly white business community is increasing concerned about the worst economic recession in half a century. The ANC's militant supporters appear to be peeling away from the moderate leadership. And De Klerk is losing ground to the right within the ruling National Party.

"De Klerk seems optimistic about the negotiating process," said a Western diplomat close to the talks. "But he is looking more over his right shoulder at the white right-wing threat than he is looking over his left shoulder at the awesome pressures the ANC is facing from its left flank."

"De Klerk's party is in shreds," says political scientist Mervyn Frost of Natal University. "All he has left now is the state apparatus – the civil service and the security forces. If the state machinery defects to the right he will be facing a major rebellion so he has to tread very carefully."

White confidence has been further shaken by recent news that controllers at Johannesburg's main Jan Smuts airport have closed the main approach route for passenger aircraft after police discovered tracer bullets being fired at planes passing over Tembisa township before coming in to land.

Although it has apparently missed the June 3 deadline, the negotiating forum has made substantial progress toward consensus since multiparty negotiations were restructured and technical committees established April 1.

There is broad agreement on a federal government in which the powers of the regions will be entrenched in the new constitution, a set of constitutional principles that will bind an elected constitution-making body, and a multiracial transitional council that will act as the de facto government in the run-up to the first elections.

The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) is due to be set up by the end of this month according to the current timetable for the transition. But the parties have yet to reach agreement on how the executive council will function and precisely what power it and its subcouncils will have.

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cial" popularized by Texas billionaire Ross Perot, Mr. Wilson is taking a far cheaper route to get his message directly to the people – via community-access cable television.

Media-watchers say the idea is the wave of the future. In contrast with the high cost of ads on commercial TV, programs on community-access TV cost just a few thousands dollars for production, and nothing at all for airtime. And the viewers may be just the sort of grass-roots activists that politicians are looking for.

"The people who watch community-access channels tend to be the local movers and shakers, joiners and doers," says Brian Stonehill, who directs the Media Studies Program at Pomona College in Pomona, Calif. "The channels are usually starved for programming and you tend to hit the people who like to be politically involved."

"Politicians are beginning to tap into the willingness of people to be educated to complicated public issues," adds Garth Jowett, a professor of communications at the University of Houston. "You are going to see a burgeoning revolution in the way politicians use technology as a surrogate for showing up at the local mall."

The Wilson video was prompted by the governor's continuing efforts to placate an electorate angry about three years of record-breaking budget shortfalls. Dan Schnur, the governor's press secretary, says Wilson has long been looking for new ways to make his messages heard more widely. "There is no statewide media in California," Mr. Schnur says. "The governor could be on Page 1 of the Sacramento Bee every day for a week and not be heard in Los Angeles. Or he could be on nightly news all over San Diego and not be seen in San Francisco."

Hence the idea for the community-access video. With one eye on the Perot model, Wilson set up a noncampaign committee to solicit contributions to pay the cost of the program.

In the video, produced live in April, Wilson is shown in a town hall-style forum, talking with business owners and then discussing the budget crisis in detail. Since the video is intended as a nonpartisan, educational effort, Wilson avoids taking pot-shots at the Democratic-controlled Legislature, although he does tout his own ideas for solving the state's problems.

Of about 360 cable systems statewide, 80 to 100 so far have picked up the governor's 28-minute "explain-a-cast." Some air it on a regular basis. Besides cable companies, which copy the video from scheduled airings by satellite, the tape has been distributed to local chambers of commerce, civic and rotary associations, and some libraries and schools.

The cable companies have no way to quantify viewership, but Schnur estimates the audience so far at about 3 million. "The video has been successful well beyond expectations," Schnur says, adding that several more are planned.

PATTY KEEGAN, a spokeswoman for the California Cable Broadcasters Association, confirms that interest is high and that the video has been well received by cable operators. "The companies are always in the position of needing good public service programming," she says. "If it serves the purpose of education, all the better."

The broadcast has gotten good reviews from some ordinary viewers. "I thought it was boring but instructional," says Vicky Morrow, who subscribes to Sammons Cable Company in Burbank, Calif. "It is clearer to me now what the problems are and what the trade-offs are."

But Democrats pan it. "The governor's video is educational, but it subtly asks viewers to accept the state's shortcomings are anything but his own failed policies," says Greg deGiere, a spokesman for state Sen. David Roberti (D) of Los Angeles, the Senate president pro tem.

The Democrats have decided to get even by producing their own "infomercial" and asking cable operators for equal time to air it.

SERBIA from page 1

■ Shortages of many essential commodities are common.

■ A leading private bank collapsed and a second was temporarily closed.

■ The crime rate has soared.

■ And a new 5-million dinar note has been released – weeks after the introduction of the 500,000-dinar note – amid soaring black-market rates for the deutsche mark and the US dollar.

The crisis also can be seen in the massive lines of commuters caused by cutbacks in public transportation and in the critical shortages of medicines and other items in hospitals.

Chaos was inevitable

But many economists, political analysts, and Western diplomats say that such a cataclysm was inevitable without the sanctions. Efforts to apply Western-style market reforms here have failed, and with the collapse of former Yugoslavia, an unrestricted amount of dinars have been printed to pay for three wars in less than two years.

"This started in early 1989 and was merely enhanced by the sanctions," said Tomislav Popovic, the director of Belgrade's Institute of Economic Science.

For that reason, many experts believe the sanctions have achieved little toward their intended goals.

Instead, they say, the measures are punishing ordinary civilians for the transgressions of their political leadership, while rewarding those in power and a small number of war profiteers, smugglers, and those they do business with in other countries.

"Sanctions are a very blunt instrument that hurts a lot of innocent people," says Ivan Vujacic, a United States-educated economist and an opposition Democratic Party member of the Yugoslav Parliament.

Economic chaos also may increase the appeal of authoritarian leaders.

"The question is: Are you going to get social unrest, and what kind of regime are you going to get after that? History tells us that it will be an authoritative one," Mr. Vujacic says.

When imposed on May 30, 1992, the sanctions were intended to coerce Belgrade into halting its support for the Bosnian Serbs and bringing an end to the war.

Such efforts clearly failed. The Bosnian Serbs overran 70 percent of the former Yugoslav republic with military, financial, and material assistance from Serbia and Montenegro.

The sanctions were tightened in mid-May after the Bosnian Serbs rejected the UN peace plan mediated by Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen.

Tighter sanctions and the threat of foreign military intervention, which has since receded, apparently prompted communist President Slobodan Milosevic to declare his support for the plan. He also announced a cutoff of all but humanitarian supplies to the Bosnian Serbs.

Fait accompli

Whether he has done so is still in question. But, by the time he took the decisions, the Bosnian Serbs were already victorious on the battlefield.

The fighting rages unabated, as evidenced May 30 by some of the worst clashes to convulse Sarajevo since the war erupted in late March 1992.

There has yet been no major unrest in rump Yugoslavia as a result of the economic turmoil, leaving Mr. Milosevic, the country's paramount leader, relatively secure.

Ironically, political analysts and Western diplomats attribute the relative social calm to the sanctions themselves because they have allowed Milosevic to blame the economic crisis on the international community.

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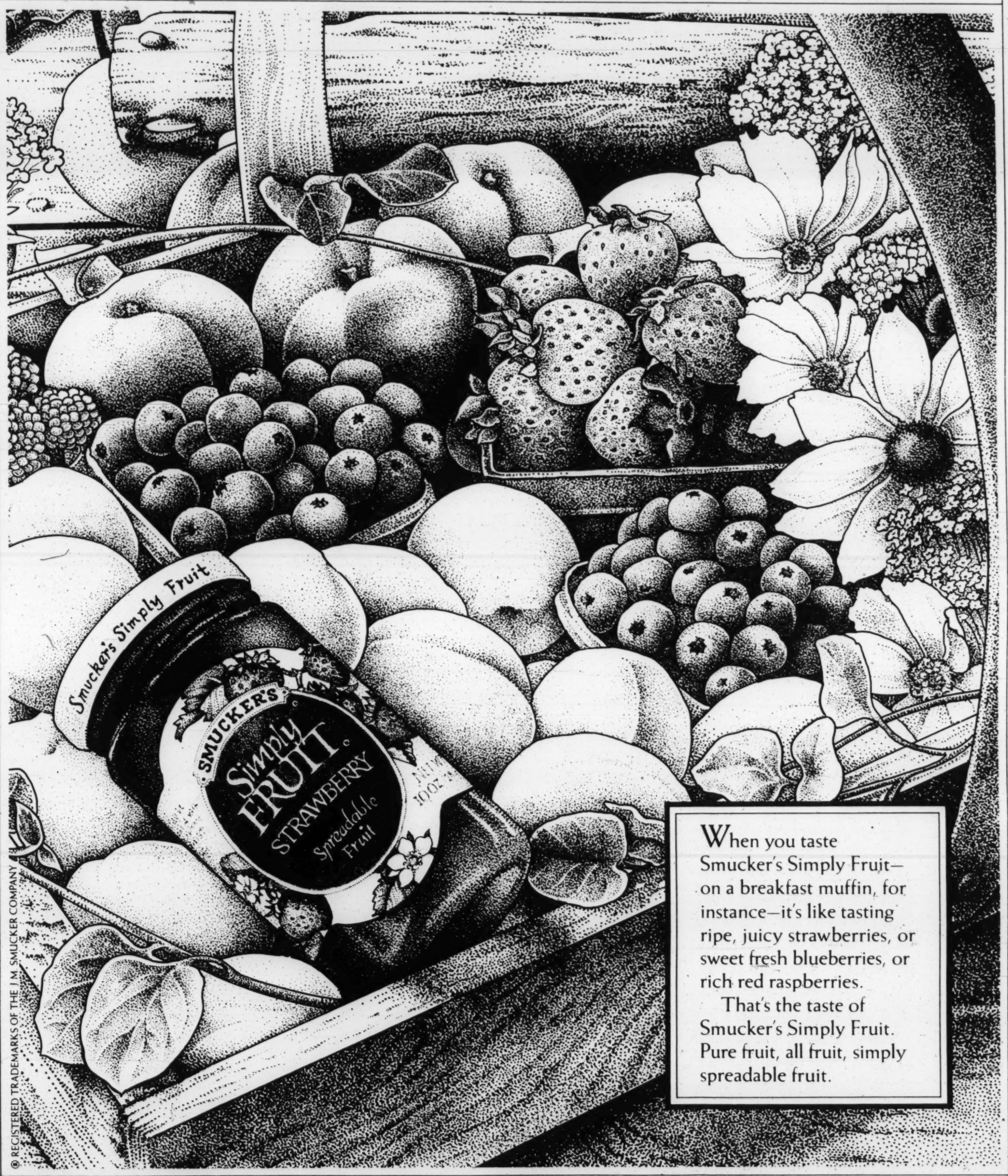

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NATIONAL

Nationally mandated cleanup takes a heavy toll on local taxpayers, and citizens mobilize to protest skyrocketing water and sewer rates

Boston Asks: What Cost a Glass of Water?

By Keith Henderson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

REMEMBER the property-tax revolt, which led to rate caps in California and Massachusetts and forced state and local governments to reorganize the way they do business?

A new grass-roots revolt is brewing in Massachusetts. The source of discontent this time is water and sewer rates. But to angry citizens staging a protest in front of the State House or planning to picket President Clinton when he comes to Boston June 19, the complaint is similar: money snatched from local people by a government out of touch with the people.

The heart of the controversy is the federally mandated cleanup of Boston Harbor, a murky body of water that evokes memories of the Boston Tea Party and yearly receives millions of gallons of sewage and waste water from 43 area communities. This huge plumbing operation is overseen by the Massachusetts Water Resources Authority (MWRA), created in the early 1980s for the cleanup project.

The cost for building new sewage treatment facilities on the harbor islands, and for rebuilding much of the aging water-distribution system, is estimated at $6 billion. In a time of belt-cinching by state and federal governments, most of that cost has come to rest squarely on local rate payers.

Water bills tripling

Accounts of water and sewer bills tripling and quadrupling in recent years abound. Lovie Elam, an anti-MWRA activist from Milton, Mass., says her three-person household now pays quarterly bills of $800. "They're absolutely phenomenal – at least three times higher over eight years."

While the particulars apply only to Boston and surrounding towns, Americans elsewhere may find much here to relate to. Scott Mackey, an analyst with the National Conference of State Legislatures in Denver, points, for example, filtration and testing mandates in the federal Safe Drinking Water Act passed in 1987.

The requirements come unaccompanied by federal money, and small cities and rural communities will find it "very expensive," says Mr. Mackey.

In Massachusetts, legislators last week frantically tacked a number of MWRA-related amendments onto a $15.5 billion budget bill. Among these were a $18 million state subsidy for sewer rates, a demand that the MWRA change its population-based billing formula (a formula thought by many to penalize the suburbs), and a move to put the beleaguered agency under the governor's control.

Responding to the problem at the grass-roots level, Donald Jordan, a real estate agent from Chelsea, cofounded Stop This Outrageous Project (STOP) – a grass-roots group that has grown into a multitown coalition. But the analogy to the tax revolt of the late 1970s and early '80s does not really capture the spirit of STOP, he says. "You know what's going on with these fees?" asks Mr. Jordan, a large, energetic man who wore a blue baseball cap with "STOP" across the front at a recent rally on the State House steps. "Taxation without representation!"

Jordan and other leaders of the water-rate revolt prefer to draw parallels to 1776. They describe the MWRA as an unelected "authority" accountable to no one.

"You can't get at them – you can't vote them out," complains Mike Deluca, who heads a town meeting study committee in the South Shore community of Weymouth that has been compiling "facts" about the water authority and the harbor cleanup for years. Weymouth was first on a growing list of towns that have refused to pay their MWRA bills.

Weymouth's refusal wasn't so much an act of rebellion, says Mr. Deluca, as "a desperate financial act by a community that didn't have the money." Weymouth has over $500,000 in sewer fees it hasn't collected from financially pinched residents, says Deluca. "How can the MWRA expect us to pay up immediately, " he asks.

The agency has a big stick to wield against reluctant towns. It is authorized to simply take the amount due out of state revenue that would normally be shared with a community.

MWRA spokesman David Gilmartin says he sympathizes with rate payers in the towns and cities that use the authority's services. "This is the only major metropolitan area in the country that has had to bear the burden of constructing a water and sewer plant on its own," he says. "Most others did this in the '70s when state and federal money was available."

That is a point readily taken up by protesters. Much venom is reserved for the Dukakis administration and state legislators of the past decade who, protesters say, could have gotten federal money under the then-amply-funded Clean Water Act. Instead, says Deluca, they fought over who would distribute the funds until that funding was lost to Reagan-era cutbacks.

Project funding

STOP activists say that the original funding plan called for 75 percent of the money to come from Washington, 15 percent from the state, and 10 percent from localities. Now, says Deluca, "The top two layers of government are telling the lowest layer, 'You fund this project, get it done!"

The unequivocal order to get it done came back in 1986, when federal district court Judge A. David Mazzone established a framework for construction of the harbor cleanup facilities.

The order came in response to a lawsuit filed by the Boston-based Conservation Law Foundation that was later joined by the federal Environmental Protection Agency.

Peter Shelley, an attorney with the foundation, says he understands the protesters' complaints, since he's a rate payer, too. But he cautions that "the level of ignorance is profound – people don't even know what they're paying for."

The rate revolt zeroes in on the harbor cleanup, he says, but people don't realize that half or more of the $6 billion will go to rebuild parts of the regional water system that have been allowed to deteriorate for half a century. Consider the "ancient" aqueduct from the reservoirs, says Mr. Shelley. It has never been inspected because there is no backup line to use during repairs.

Shelley asks: Would anyone want to further delay needed maintenance and rebuilding, as politicians have been doing for years? The current situation is "dangerous," he says, "in the sense that public opinion could lead political leaders, or community leaders, to take actions that are very contrary to their community's long-term interests."

Politicians react

Impelled by the mounting protests, political action seems inevitable. Some state legislators are pushing for reconsideration of the whole project. State Rep. Warren Tolman, a Democrat from Watertown, Mass., favors scaling back the secondary treatment facilities planned on Deer Island. Much of it is not necessary, he says, because the flow of waste water and sewage into the treatment plants is way down from estimates made in the '80s.

In Washington, Rep Barney Frank, whose district includes many towns in the MWRA district, comments, "I can't think of any governmental issue that has reached farther into people's lives."

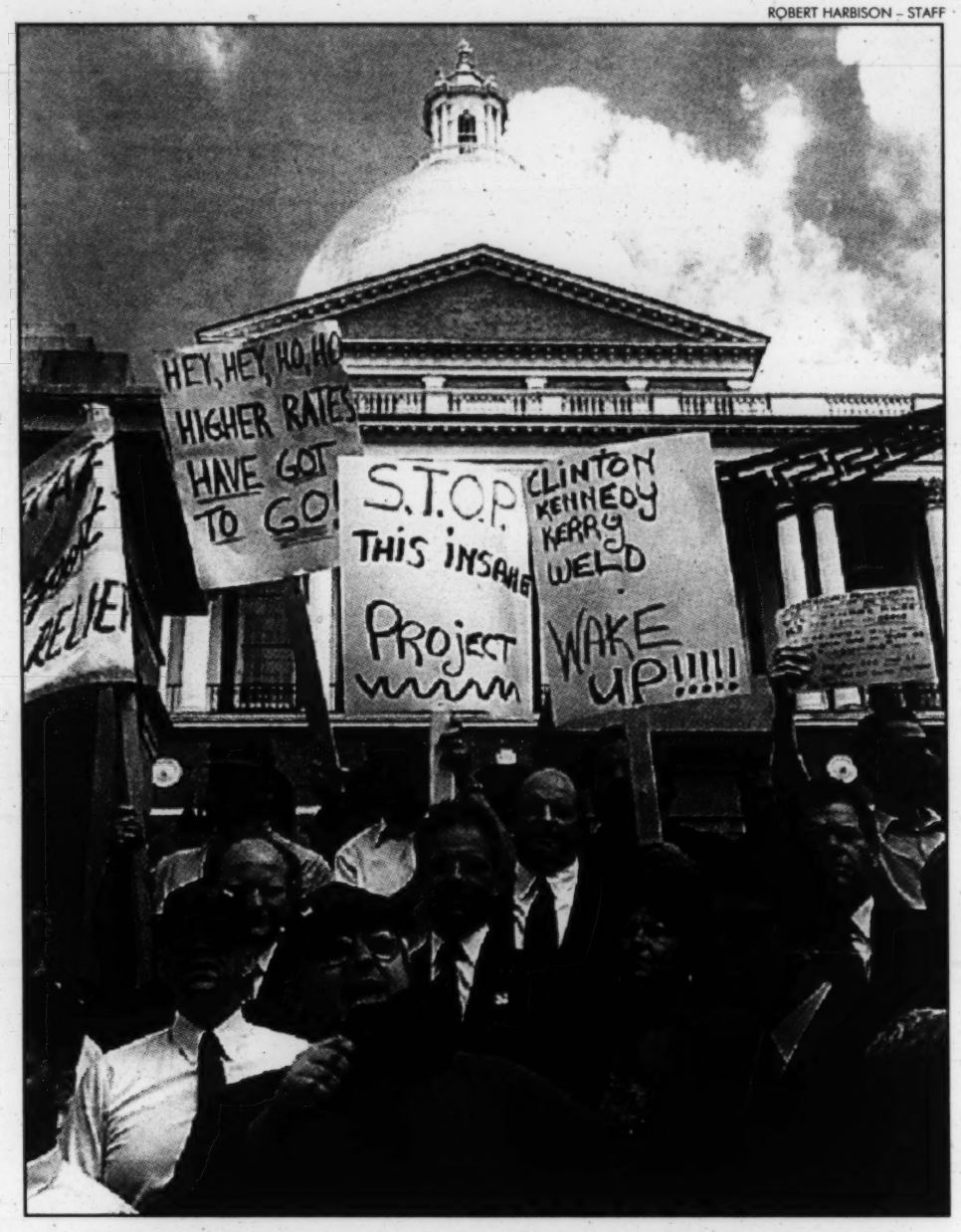
He wants to lengthen the payoff period for MWRA bonds, so that the press for revenue can be eased, and to arrange a longer commitment of federal funds for the cleanup. Currently, the federal contribution is $100 million a year.

But in the longer term, says Mr. Frank, "We have to change the law." The Clean Water Act, in his view, has to be altered to include increased federal assistance and its requirement may have to be altered.

Frank is one politician that rate protesters speak kindly of. Their view of elected officials is generally scornful as the State House protesters made clear.

For them, Jordan has one message: If they do not rouse themselves to take an active interest in the water-rate revolt, they are likely to find themselves out of office.

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF



RATE-PAYER REVOLT: *Citizens organized as Stop This Outrageous Project protest outside the Massachusetts State House recently. Leader Don Jordan (with megaphone) describes the issue behind the group's protest as: 'Taxation without representation!'*

Sexual Harassment Found in US Schools

National study reports high levels of abuse

By Elizabeth Levitan Spaid
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

EIGHTY-ONE percent of 8th- through 11th-grade students surveyed in public schools across the United States have been the target of some form of sexual harassment – ranging from sexual comments to physical contact – according to a study released June 2 by the American Association of University Women Educational Foundation.

Called "Hostile Hallways," the study is the first national scientific survey of student sexual harassment. The findings are worse than expected, says Alice McKee, the foundation's president.

'Kids have a right to expect when they go to school that there should be an environment and climate in which they can learn.'

– AAUW Education Foundation president

Eighty-five percent of girls and 76 percent of boys report they have experienced some type of sexual harassment.

"Sexual harassment is an epidemic in the schools today," she says. The survey was conducted in 79 classrooms of randomly selected schools across the US and contains representative samples of about 1,600 white, black, and Hispanic students.

Students were provided with a definition of sexual harassment: "Unwelcome and unwanted sexual behavior that interferes with your life."

They were given a questionnaire asking about harassment during school-related times. Fourteen types of sexual harassment, ranging from verbal to physical, were presented.

The most common form of sexual harassment, reported by 76 percent of girls and 56 percent of boys, included sexual comments, jokes, gestures, or looks. The second most common form of harassment – touching, grabbing, or pinching in a sexual way - was reported by 65 percent of girls and 42 percent of boys. On the more extreme end, 13 percent of girls and 9 percent of boys said they had been forced to do something sexual other than kissing.

"Sexual harassment runs the gamut – from comments to bathroom rape," says Nan Stein, director of the Sexual Harassment in Schools Project at the Center for Research on Women at Wellesley College.

Ms. Stein, who has been working on the issue since 1979, says sexual harassment in the schools is just as severe as it was 14 years ago."These are the same kinds of behavior kids were talking about then," she says, adding that the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas hearings as well as a number of lawsuits filed against schools, have brought the issue to the forefront.

The most surprising finding of the survey was the high percentage of boys who said they had been sexually harassed, says Ms. McKee. But she emphasizes that girls report experiencing the behavior more often and are more affected by it. A significantly higher percentage of girls than boys didn't want to attend school, found it hard to study, or didn't want to talk as much in class, for example.

The majority of students are being harassed by other students mainly in public areas of schools such as hallways and classrooms. Of the 81 percent who have been targets of sexual harassment in school, 79 percent report the perpetrator was a peer; 18 percent (mostly girls) say they have been harassed by a school employee. But equally disturbing to McKee is that 66 percent of boys and 52 percent of girls surveyed say they have harassed someone.

"If something doesn't happen to stop this, kids will automatically accept the message that sexual harassment is OK," McKee says. "I think kids have a right to expect when they go to school that there should be an environment and climate in which they can learn. This is not a climate that will facilitate learning."

"I have a feeling there will be more research [on sexual harassment] done now that we've sort of set the stage for it and identified the extent of the problem," McKee says, just as the educational community has responded earlier to her foundation's report, "How Schools Shortchange Girls."

But Stein, who was principal author of a write-in Seventeen magazine survey last March that found similar results among girls, says: "We've got corroborative findings. Let's get on with efforts to effect change."

ROB CHADDOCK

WEST POINT: *Cadets were exuberant about graduation, but more subdued about Clinton's speech. The cadets' caps are not retrieved, but left – often with money or medals tucked into rims – for children in the audience.*

Over Memorial Day, president confronted questions about his past, present relations with military

Clinton Faces the Long Gray Line

By Gail Russell Chaddock
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WEST POINT, N.Y.

FOR President Clinton, Memorial Day weekend threw into sharp relief one of the most difficult issues of his campaign and the early days of his administration: his credibility as commander in chief.

His own draft record and opposition to the war in Vietnam were implicitly on the line in speeches at Arlington National Cemetery and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial on May 31.

"Some have suggested that it is wrong for me to be here with you today because I did not agree a quarter of a century ago with the decision made to send the young men and women to battle in Vietnam," the president said in remarks at the memorial wall. "Well, so much the better.... Just as war is freedom's cost, disagreement is freedom's privilege, and we honor it here today."

His words to the graduates at the United States Military Academy two days earlier took on a deeper criticism of his presidency: that his budget cuts and pledge to end the ban on homosexuals in the military were undermining "the finest military in the world."

David Gergen, writing in U.S. News & World Report on April 5, put the point most starkly: Many in the military are convinced that Mr. Clinton "is on a reckless course that could destroy the finest fighting force in the world, one that has been carefully and painstakingly rebuilt from the ashes of Vietnam." The president, Mr. Gergen wrote, should find better ways to become acquainted with the military.

On May 29, Clinton appointed Gergen as his new counselor. Minutes later, he flew to West Point to deliver a commencement address designed to set this concern to rest.

"We owe it to you to make you the best-trained, the best-prepared, the best-equipped, and the best-supported fighting force on the face of the earth," the president told the cadets.

The talk was laced with West Point history and lore – Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Meuse-Argonne, Normandy, Pusan, the Iron Triangle – as well as self-deprecatory humor. "No one is perfect, of course, as even the president demonstrates from time to time," he said.

The 1,003 graduating cadets were more subdued that those present at Clinton's first graduation address to 164 students at New Hampshire Technical College in Stratham, N.H, many of whom spoke of the president in tones bordering on reverence.

Nevertheless, cadet Cornelius Nash declared it an "excellent speech." Mr. Nash, who went to school in Arkadelphia, Ark., three towns up the road from Clinton's hometown of Hope, added, "He stayed away from controversial issues."

For this Academy sophomore, the most controversial issue is the pace of change, especially on the issue of gays in the military. "The Army has gone through so much change now with drawdowns and cutbacks, ... [that] to introduce another change could be detrimental," he said.

Cadet Richard Meyers, from Indianapolis, picks up the point: "It scares a lot of people because we came with one set of beliefs and are leaving with something that could be different."

TIM CLARY/AFP

SALUTE TO THE COMMANDER: *Many in the military have expressed concerns about pace of change on gays, other issues under President Clinton.*

ECONOMY

In an era of rapidly changing technology, corporations in two very different industries are finding new ways to remain competitive

Technology Renaissance For Small Manufacturers

By Mark Trumbull
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BRAINTREE, MASS.

As many of America's largest companies downsize, the smaller manufacturers that supply them are also adapting to new realities.

Firms are under pressure to cut costs and improve quality. They are finding that, to survive, they must learn to cooperate more closely with customers and even with competitors.

But if the pressures are great, so are the opportunities.

Technology, by reducing barriers to transportation and communication, is allowing many small, specialized companies to market their products globally.

Other firms find success in the opposite direction, working more closely at the local level with the larger manufacturers they supply. Chrysler Corporation is one of many big firms that view partnership with suppliers as a key to quality and product innovations.

The efforts of companies like Berkshire Plastics Network [see story to the right] and Jones & Vining [see story below] are part of a renaissance for small and medium-size firms.

Economist Dwight Lee of the University of Georgia says that companies "compete on the basis of organizational design." This era of rapid technological change makes it possible for small firms to use their specialized expertise to stake out far-flung markets or work closely with larger customers, he says.

Technology is allowing many small, specialized firms to market their products globally. Other companies find success using the opposite strategy – working at the local level ever more closely with the larger manufacturers they supply.

A century ago the momentum was toward bigness, the "vertical integration" of production, such as the Ford Motor Company organization. "Now we're seeing downsizing," Mr. Lee says. "Firms very likely will get smaller."

Many big companies, struggling against nimbler rivals, can no longer afford to try to do it all by themselves, adds Stephen Rosenthal, director of the Manufacturing Roundtable at Boston University's School of Management. But Lee says that technology "slices both ways." While it makes it easier for big firms to contract work out, it also eases the flow of ideas within big firms.

The question of what kind of firm is most efficient today will not be settled by any armchair theory, Lee says, but by the give and take of the marketplace.

Two reports follow on how small and medium-size corporations in two very different industries – shoes and plastics – are teaching themselves new tricks as they strive to remain competitive.

Plastics Firms Boost Business by Cooperation

PITTSFIELD, MASS.

WESTERN Massachusetts, known for its idyllic Berkshire Mountains, is also home to 40 plastics firms, including General Electric Company's plastics unit.

These Pittsfield-area companies are learning to cooperate on marketing, worker training, and other areas of mutual interest.

"We still compete with each other," notes James Beauregard, who heads the marketing efforts of the Berkshire Plastics Network. He is also president and founder of Plastics Technology Laboratories Inc., a testing firm whose clients include Du Pont and Apple Computer.

Cooperation is giving the 40 firms a higher profile that boosts business for them all.

For example, the Berkshire Plastics Network rented a booth at a New York City trade show for medical products. "We'll come back with about 100 leads" on potential jobs, Mr. Beauregard says. This month the group will hold a seminar to show its capabilities to prospective clients.

"We know everything about plastics when you put us all together," Beauregard says.

The 40 firms have specialties ranging from product design to various types of molding processes. But the companies could not get that "one-stop shopping" message to potential customers without banding together.

The network was founded a decade ago, but "it's really in the last six months that this marketing effort has taken off," Beauregard says.

"It's slow going because it's a cultural change," says John Hoops, a state economic-development official. Managers steeped in competition must learn to cooperate.

Mr. Hoops says Germany's small companies have been pioneers of "flexible business networks." Now companies such as these are developing American versions of the concept, but "the US is still feeling its way along," he says.

Still, more than 1,000 companies in 22 states now belong to flexible business networks, estimates the German Marshall Fund, a charitable organization in Washington. The plastics network, which has been funded entirely by its dues-paying members, recently got a state grant to help with its outreach programs.

– M. T.

A Footwear Revolution Comes With a Computer

BRAINTREE, MASS.

JONES & VINING INC. hopes to use computer technology to transform the way footwear is made worldwide.

"We're in the middle of a revolution," says John Hurd, president of J. V. Footwear, the subsidiary formed by the 60-year-old firm to accomplish this task.

Jones & Vining manufactures lasts, the foot-shaped forms around which shoes are built. Although most shoes for the United States market are now made overseas, Jones & Vining has survived. It supplies lasts to shoe designers – including many in New England at companies such as Reebok and Rockport.

When a design is finalized, shoemakers often want to produce the shoes in several factories. Currently, most lasts are handcopied by artisans in each factory – one last for each size of shoe in that design. Often slight mistakes in size or shape crop up, making quality control a problem.

Enter Compu-Last, J. V. Footwear's recently introduced line of machines that can translate the complex last designs into digital computer code. This packet of data can then be put on a disk or sent across the world by telephone and reproduced in factories. This means not only greater assurance of quality, but also quicker introduction of new shoe designs.

"The vast majority of production will go to numerically controlled" systems such as Compu-Last, Mr. Hurd predicts. Since mid-1992 the company has installed 11 of its new systems, and Hurd says 25 should be in place by fall, out of a total world market of only about 400 last-making machines. Indeed, the market may be small enough for Jones & Vining to keep it to itself.

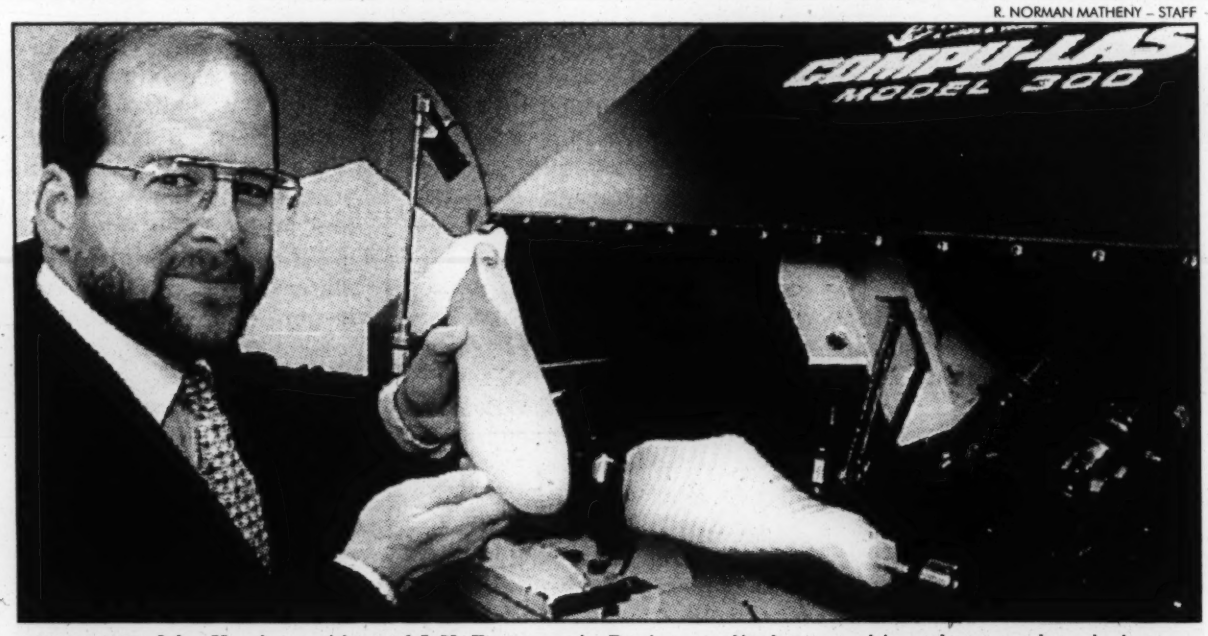
"If we're not too greedy [setting prices], ... I don't see any reason why we would have any competitor," Hurd says. He recently returned from a marketing trip to several Asian countries.

The company also envisions other products that connect shoemakers to the digital revolution.

Hurd talks of technology allowing shoemakers to gain a more sophisticated understanding of the "population of feet," to cut the cost of customized shoes, and to allow the average person to mail-order shoes without having to worry whether they will fit.

– M. T.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF



COMPU-LAST: *John Hurd, president of J. V. Footwear in Braintree, displays machines that translate designs into digital computer code. The packet of data can then be put on a disk or sent around the world.*

ROBERT HARBISON – STAFF

MAKING A SALE: *Pamela Poynton purchases a painting from manager Alyssa Wilk at a Chestnut Hill, Mass. store. In each of 37 Wentworth stores, the gallery represents about 40 artists and displays 250 pieces of art.*

Investment Firm Takes a Chance On an Art Gallery Chain, and Wins

By Suzanne L. MacLachlan
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

WHEN Michael O'Mahony was hired as president and chief executive officer of Wentworth Gallery, he walked up and down the poshest streets of Boston and Miami visiting small, exclusive, privately owned art galleries. He wanted to learn what *not* to do in running a fast-growing chain of galleries that would cater to art connoisseurs and novices alike.

The first thing he discovered was never to sell art as an investment.

"I'm not wise enough to foretell the future of a particular artist," Mr. O'Mahony says. "I can tell you what's good art in my opinion, what is quality art in a technical sense, but I cannot tell you what is going to increase in value or not increase in value."

On the other hand, Fidelity Capital, the new-business development arm of one of the nation's largest mutual fund management firms, Boston's Fidelity Investments, predicted that Wentworth would make a good investment and was willing to bet it would become increasingly profitable.

The Boston-based financial group bought the company with the intention of "growing it," and it has grown.

Beginning with six galleries in Massachusetts and Florida in 1989, there are now 37 Wentworth galleries in 15 states. Revenues in 1992 were more than $15 million.

But "it's not just willy-nilly opening stores," O'Mahony says. "The growth is slowing down now that we've gotten to where we want to be."

Wentworth represents 35 to 40 artists and each gallery displays about 250 pieces of art. Customers can buy a painting for $400 or $45,000. They come to the gallery knowing a lot about art or next to nothing. And if they are looking for a particular artist or painting that Wentworth does not have, the company says it will find it for them.

"The fact that we are a chain allows us to be tremendously diverse in our selection, to give the client better value because of the buying power we have when we negotiate with an artist," O'Mahony says. "A traditional gallery will go to an artist and buy one or two of his or her pieces. If I think an artist is talented ... I can buy everything that artist can paint."

Private dealers struggling

This is a luxury that most galleries do not have, says Donna Carlson, director of administration at the Art Dealers Association of America in New York. Since the art market peaked in 1989-90, small dealers have been struggling, she says. Some have tried to cut overhead. Others have simply shut down.

"Most art galleries are private businesses, more like Mom-and-Pop stores," Ms. Carlson says. "They have had to survive on the taste of one or two individuals."

Because most are private, there is little public disclosure of finances among art galleries. But in 1989 it became obvious to Fidelity Capital that the market was in trouble and therefore it was a good time to get in, says spokeswoman Karen Ernst. Wentworth had what the firm looks for in a business: an interesting concept, good growth potential, and a wider market that no one else was serving adequately.

"We realized Wentworth had a good market niche, that the art market was very fragmented, and that we'd be able to grow the business," Ms. Ernst says. "We will often get into a business where the cycle seems to be working against us, but if we get in at the right time ... we can do very well."

The fact that the retailing economy has been doing poorly has also worked in Wentworth's favor, Ernst says.

Malls that were impossible to get into six or seven years ago are now hanging out "For Rent" signs on a regular basis. And since the housing market has been slow, more people are redecorating their homes rather than moving to new ones, O'Mahony says.

Widening the market

Wentworth counts on the fact that most everyone, at some point or another, goes to a mall. "A lot of people are intimidated by single galleries located on Newbury Street [in Boston] or Worth Avenue in Palm Beach," Ernst says. "People feel comfortable in a mall."

Wentworth has relied on more than a love of good art: It depends on a sharp business sense.

"We have expanded in this market because we ... service our clients," says David Swan, vice president of sales at Wentworth. "We listen to what customers want and then we provide them with the services that they're asking for."

Having financial backing does not hurt either. Fidelity Capital has the capacity to continue expanding Wentworth, letting it grow until the economy improves, Ernst says.

"We have the resources that an organization like [Fidelity Capital] can offer us," O'Mahony says. "Yet we can still have an entrepreneurial spirit. As far as I'm concerned, it's really the best of both worlds."

NATIONAL OUTPUT REVIVES

Governments Expect Canada's Economy To Create More Jobs

By Fred Langan
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

TORONTO

THE meeting May 31 of Canada's 11 finance ministers, one from the federal government and one from each of the 10 provinces, was just about over when the news broke.

The group was there to discuss what could be done about the state of the economy when the latest growth statistic hit the wires: Canada's economy grew by 0.7 percent in the month of March alone, the biggest monthly jump in almost two years. Growth in the first quarter was one full percentage point.

The figures were beyond expectation. The budgets drawn up by the federal and provincial governments were based on forecasts of 2.9 percent growth this year. If first-quarter growth continues, Canada's 1993 growth rate could be 4 percent.

"It's showing signs of a more broadly based recovery than we've seen over the past half year and I think that's a very good sign of things to come," says Jason Myers of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. Growth was strongest in the manufacturing sector, particularly in the industrial heartland of Ontario, the region hit hardest in the past three years of recession and sluggish growth.

The ministers met in Ottawa to deal with the national debt, a staggering total of $700 billion (Canadian; US$551 billion), as a result of government deficits.

The provincial ministers of finance called for lower interest rates to stimulate the economy, and asked John Crow, governor of the Bank of Canada – the central bank – to stop fighting inflation.

"What we are expecting from the Bank of Canada is a monetary policy that is comparable with the economic situation," says Quebec's minister of finance, Gerard Levesque. "We have to realize interest rates are too high." Interest rates in Canada, while slightly higher than in the United States, are at a 21-year low.

"These are a very positive set of numbers for both the month and the quarter," says Philip Cross, chief analyst at Statistic Canada. Other economists say the politicians' main worry, Canada's 11.4 percent unemployment rate, will right itself as long as there is continued growth.

"We're forecasting an increase of another 25,000 jobs," says Patti Croft, senior economist with Wood Gundy. The figures, expected by the end of the week, will confirm that the economic growth numbers will be translated into jobs. "We're starting to see the employment trend begin to firm," she says.

Growth has been strong in the automotive sector, with Canadian exports to the US leading the way. "There was considerable demand from the United States with the sales of autos and high-tech equipment accelerating," says Aron Gampel, economist with the Bank of Nova Scotia in Toronto. "Unfortunately, this hasn't spilled over to the consumer side."

Apart from the latest numbers on the economy, the biggest financial news in the past month has been tax increases. In an effort to reduce deficits, the provincial governments of Ontario and Quebec raised taxes and in turn lowered expectations of economic growth. "I don't think a 4-percent annual growth rate will be sustained for the rest of the year," says Mr. Gampel of the Bank of Nova Scotia.

Provincial government budgets, with their higher taxes, are the biggest threat to continued growth, some economists and bankers say. Consumers worry about a dip into another recession and taxes taking a big bite out of their after-tax take-home pay. "People just simply won't have the money to spend because their discretionary income will take quite a beating," says Mr. Myers of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association.

One Toronto banker, who estimates he will pay an extra $10,000 (Canadian; US$7,866) in income tax following the Ontario provincial budget, says the recovery might slow. "With that big a tax increase, I'm afraid we won't be able to sustain these growth levels."

When Masako Owada marries Crown Prince Naruhito June 9, she gives up her career and private life to enter the rarified world of Japan's imperial household

A NEW PRINCESS STIRS JAPAN

The Prince as Traveler, Student, and Sportsman

IT'S not easy being an emperor in the wings.

The quest by Crown Prince Naruhito for Princess Right has been an embarrassing public event for over six years. It's about all that many Japanese know about the man who will be 127th "Son of Heaven."

At the age of 27, in 1987, he announced that he wanted to be married when he hit 30. A few years later he told reporters he had reached "the seventh or eighth station" on his ascent to the nuptial summit. He took his time, noting that Britain's Prince Charles married late.

One sensational Japanese magazine suggested Naruhito might find a mate sooner if he changed his hair and offered 10 doctored photos of him with different styles.

That kind of coverage was enough for the imperial agency to demand a news blackout on the crown prince's courting in 1992.

He was further embarrassed in 1990 when his younger brother, Prince Akishino, married before him and then fathered a baby girl.

And he caused worried looks among conservative Japanese when he took an interest in Brooke Shields, who was invited as a guest to the palace.

Last January, just before his 33rd birthday, Naruhito finally announced that he would marry Masako Owada, who held his heart since they first met in 1986. The long climb was over.

An emperor-to-be cannot be faulted for not meeting enough young women. Not only is Naruhito somewhat cloistered in a unique profession that few women want to join, but he also appears to have sought true love instead of an arranged marriage. That desire was probably a result of being raised by his parents instead of by imperial handlers, as past emperors were.

AFP

FLIPPING THROUGH THE FAMILY PHOTO ALBUM: *The prince shares a moment with his fiancée at the Akasaka palace.*

Another unique characteristic of Naruhito is how well traveled he is, having visited places from Bhutan to Brazil. Because of these experiences, he insisted on a wife who is internationally minded.

After graduating from Gakushuin University in 1982, he went to England to study at Merton College of Oxford University, where he researched 18th-century transport on the Thames River. He also spent time traveling around Europe, like a bird let out of a cage.

Short in stature and soft-spoken, the imperial heir carries himself regally and seems unencumbered by a life of etiquette and rituals. He often climbs mountains, plays the viola, and continues his academic studies and interest in various sporting activities.

He became direct heir to the Chrysanthemum Throne when his grandfather, Hirohito (now called Showa), died in 1989.

– C. J.

From Career Diplomat To Future Empress

BY the age of 3, in 1966, Masako Owada was doing what few Japanese dare do: She was becoming international.

Her diplomat father, Hisashi Owada, was posted in Moscow, and his daughter was learning Russian along with Japanese. Two years later, the family was in New York and she was learning English in a suburban public school.

After eight years abroad, she came back to her native Japan in 1971 and entered an elite Roman Catholic school. As an animal-lover, she had dreams of being a veterinarian.

By 1979, her father moved again, this time to Harvard University, while his eldest daughter attended Belmont High School in suburban Boston, where she excelled in softball. She then entered Harvard College, earning a bachelor's degree with magna cum laude honors and writing a thesis on how Japan coped with the two oil shocks. Along the way, she became fluent in French and German.

After returning to Tokyo in 1985, she decided that she had missed out on some Japanese culture, especially that deemed necessary for women, so she studied cooking, the tea ceremony, and flower arranging.

After studying law at Tokyo University for a few months, she decided to take the foreign-service exam. She wanted to follow in her father's footsteps.

With her international background and elite education, she had no problem passing the difficult test and was soon a rising star in the foreign ministry.

Her father has become Japan's top career diplomat. Her mother, Yumiko Owada, is a Keio University graduate and the daughter of the former chairman of Chisso Corporation, a chemical company.

Colleagues of the princess-to-be describe her as witty, hard-working, bright, and self-effacing. With qualities like that, she was soon put on a list by the imperial agency as a potential mate for the crown prince. She also likes skiing, as does he. Former Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe described Owada as a "modern, outstanding woman, suitable for the palace."

But like many other candidates, she was scared of the intense media scrutiny. In 1988, she went to Oxford University for more studies and returned two years later to the ministry to work on economic relations with the United States. She acted as interpreter and prepared papers on trade disputes, such as market access for US lawyers and semiconductors.

She resigned from her job in January, soon after the announcement of the engagement, to prepare herself for a career as empress. A fancy dresser who likes pearl necklaces, Owada soon became a fashion idol to many young Japanese women.

Her father, meanwhile, may soon become Japan's next United Nations ambassador.

– C. J.

By Clayton Jones
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor
TOKYO

HE was once seen as the most ineligible bachelor in Japan. She was a promising young diplomat who spent half her youth outside Japan and six years avoiding his affection for her.

But despite their pasts, Crown Prince Naruhito and Masako Owada will be wed on June 9 in a millennia-old ceremony and in a royal match reflecting Japan's troubled search for new roles for its emperor and for Japanese women.

In its simplest meaning, the long-awaited marriage is a highly orchestrated attempt by the powerful Imperial Household Agency (IHA) to ensure that Japan has a male heir to the Chrysanthemum Throne, the world's oldest unbroken dynasty.

But the event has triggered mixed emotions, raising questions:

Can Ms. Owada, who is worldly and outspoken, easily enter the cloistered life behind the imperial moat, obey the strict etiquette, and follow the ancient rituals of Japan's indigenous Shinto religion? Or will she, as a future empress, alter a tradition-bound institution that fewer and fewer Japanese hold in awe?

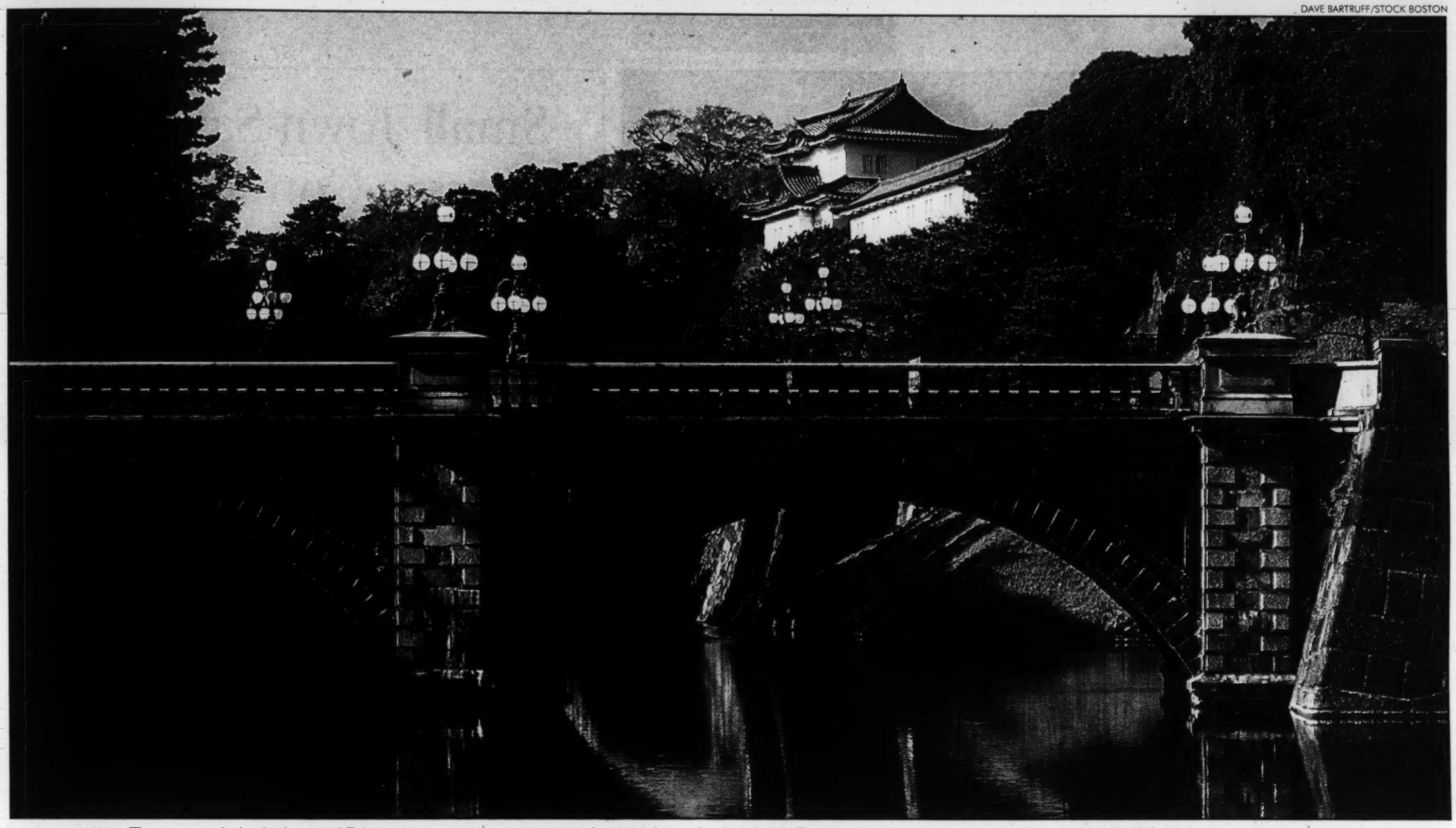
To the many young Japanese who are apathetic about the emperor "system" and who see it as an anachronism, June 9 will be just another official holiday, specially declared for the event.

And for many businesses beset by a recession, the event is a chance to cash in on an expected "Masako boom" with wedding-related sales. The Japanese media, too, plan day-long coverage of a ceremony that will be measured in minutes.

For one group of activists, who recently held a seminar on "What is there to celebrate about the crown prince's wedding?" the event is not politically correct. Feminist historian Yuko Suzuki, for instance, says the only role for a woman in the imperial family is to produce a successor. She says the root of discrimination in Japan lies in the 19th-century law that only men can be emperor.

The imperial family does hold unusual privilege in a society that otherwise sees itself as egalitarian. After World War II, the emperor was demoted from a "living god" to a symbol of the state under a new American-directed constitution. That began an evolution designed to help the institution keep pace with Japanese society by narrowing the gap between royalty and the people.

DAVE BARTRUFF/STOCK BOSTON



IMPERIAL PALACE: *These grounds in the heart of Tokyo are among the most expensive real estate in the world. The royal wedding ceremony will be held in a Shinto shrine under the palace roof.*

With Owada joining the imperial family as crown princess, that pace may quicken, as many wish it would. "We hope they will present a new 'face' of Japan in an era when our nation plays an increasingly important role on the international stage," an editorial in the Nikkei daily business newspaper said.

A strong minority of Japanese, however, contend that the imperial family should stay remote as keepers of "innocent" spiritual purity, and not become so common. "Some people think that if you take the mystery out of the emperor, you reduce him as a symbol," says Keio University scholar Sumiko Iwao.

Today's Japanese feel starved for fulfillment, writes Osaka University professor Masakazu Yamazaki, and are "looking to the crown prince's wedding to provide an alternative means of satisfying this spiritual hunger."

The imperial family's mystique will not last much longer, he points out, and the royals must resolve the same contradiction between tradition and modern values that Japanese society is coping with.

The best clues so far to how Owada and Naruhito will change the institution together can be found in their unusual courtship.

They first met in 1986 when she was 23 and studying law at Tokyo University and he was 26, just starting his bride hunt. She was one of several young women invited to an autumn reception for Spain's Princess Elena in an obvious attempt at matchmaking. He claims he knew then that she was his choice. She, however, was pursuing a career. The crown prince told reporters: "Masako-san was always on my mind, and I asked the IHA frequently, 'Can't it be Masako-san?'"

But she demurred, and the 1,100-person IHA, which closely guards and controls the emperor's family, was not high on her either. She did not meet their conditions for an empress. For one, she had a job. And she was a bit taller than the crown prince. And her maternal grandfather was slightly tainted because he had become president of Chisso Corporation which, before his tenure, had caused the death or injury of hundreds of people by polluting the southern Japanese bay of Minamata with toxic mercury.

TSUNO/AFP

PARENTS OF THE BRIDE: *A photo taken in Toyko last April shows Masako Owada (r.) posing with Hisashi and Yumiko Owada.*

And she has twin sisters, raising the possibility that she may give birth to twin boys. That would raise an unprecedented dilemma over which twin would be emperor. She also comes from a family of girls, raising doubts if she could produce a son.

The two did meet a few more times, but she soon left for studies at Oxford, and they did not see one another for five years. Then, with the crown prince more desperate, another visit was arranged last summer by a "go-between."

Her hesitation to consider Naruhito as a mate raised doubts about her ability to accept the strictures of imperial life. But on a date in October at the imperial duck-hunting field near Tokyo, he tried earnestly to persuade her. "I was risking my happiness," as he described it.

Later, in Tokyo, he would meet her by slipping away from his palace home to escape an eager media. He had to leave security guards behind to be undetected. By Dec. 12, she accepted, moved by his pledge to shield her from any troubles.

As he later described the pledge that apparently won her heart: "I'm sure you must be very worried about becoming a member of the imperial family, but I want you to know that for the rest of my life I will do everything within my power to protect you."

This statement, when spoken on Japanese television, had the same emotional impact in Japan as when a groom says "I do" in a Christian wedding. Many TV viewers were moved to tears.

His statement supports reports that his mother, Empress Michiko, experienced hardship at the hands of the IHA when she married then-Crown Prince Akihito in 1959. She was the first commoner to marry into the royal line. Before that, only aristocrats were chosen to be empress.

Michiko was able to make some changes in imperial ways, such as raising her children herself. Those changes could make life easier for Owada.

Still, Naruhito said that Owada "may experience anxieties and stress" but he would be ready to console her. Even their engagement required the approval of a 10-member council chaired by Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa.

"Masako certainly will have less freedom," says Dr. Iwao. "But then she is not going to sit at home. A line will be drawn on her speaking out on political issues. But otherwise, I'm waiting to see how she can change the imperial household. Will she be able to invite her friends over for lunch?"

In a joint press conference with Naruhito, Owada showed just how she might balance the sharp contrast between her past life as a free-spirited intellectual and her semi-cloistered future behind palace walls.

To the surprise of the TV audience, Owada sat next to the crown prince with her head down and her hands together. Her body language was much different than her previous image of a heads-up, smartly dressed career woman.

See **WEDDING** *next page*

WEDDING from page 11

But then, after the crown prince stated that he wanted a family "blessed with peace and cheer," she went against imperial tradition of being reticent and deferential. She spoke her mind.

To the amazement of older Japanese, Owada said: "In principle I agree with the prince, but if I may be allowed to add a word of my own, I would say that I hope ours will be a warm family full of love that helps each other in difficult times."

In a nation whose older generation was taught not even to look at the emperor, such openness by a Japanese woman, one who received more than 13 years of her education outside Japan, reveals just how fast this once isolated nation has changed.

Many of her official duties as an empress will be to act as honorary head of social organizations, greet visiting dignitaries, recite poetry, and act out rituals that go back centuries. In fact, the imperial family's reason for existence is to conduct rituals on behalf of the Japanese race.

The couple seem to be the type of new Japanese who are uneasy with arranged marriages. Even though their early meetings were set up, they now seem to be in love. He describes her as such a "delightful person to talk to that I almost forget time." She said she was smitten by his "sincere, moving words."

Since she resigned from the foreign ministry in January, a debate has continued about whether she would take a more challenging role as a kind of diplomat for Japan, or just become a bearer of imperial offspring.

Owada is often compared to Hillary Rodham Clinton as someone who, although in a subservient role, brings immense skill to a public position. But unlike in the United States, women in Japan are often denied careers. Of young Japanese women hired by big companies for career-track jobs, only 7 percent are women, according to the Japan Institute of Workers Evolution.

Many young women have decided not to marry, or if they do, they do not have more than one or two children. Japan's birthrate has plummeted to the third-lowest in the world.

"Career-oriented women are happy to see Masako find an attractive husband. The others could not relate to her," says Sumiko Iwao, author of the book "Japanese Women."

Will Owada set an example for motherhood or career?

"I have decided that my role now is to [marry] and make myself useful in my new mission as a member of the imperial family," she said. "It was my own decision, and I have no regrets."

TOSHIFUMI KITAMURE/AFP

ROYAL ATTIRE: *This traditional costume is similar to the bridal gown that will be worn by Masako Owada. It weighs 40 pounds and costs $90,500.*

Shinto Religion Lies at Heart Of Wedding Ceremony

TOKYO

THE wedding ceremony for Crown Prince Naruhito and Masako Owada will take place in the most sacred and secret spot in the imperial palace, which lies in the heart of Tokyo.

The two will enter a Shinto shrine, built in 1888, called *kashikodokoro*, which is home to the mythical Japanese sun goddess, Amaterasu Omikami. The goddess is symbolized by a replica of the divine mirror said to have been given to the first emperor more than 1,500 years ago.

The ceremony, based on ancient records, will start early in the morning with offerings to the gods and prayers by a chief priest as music is played from ancient instruments. Then, under the gaze of ladies-in-waiting, the princess-to-be will walk in slow measured steps down a gallery to the inner sanctuaries.

She will wear a multicolored, 12-layer costume known as a *juni-hitoe*, which takes a long time to put on and requires two train-bearers. The crown prince will wear formal dress in bright orange, a color symbolizing the rising sun.

The couple will make an offering with branches from a sacred tree; then the crown prince will recite a marriage vow for the gods. After that, they go to an outer chamber where they will drink rice wine together from white unglazed cups.

By tradition, the emperor and empress will not be there. Instead, the newlyweds will formally inform the parents of the marriage in the afternoon.

After that, the couple will ride in a car about four miles from the palace to their home. Then they go through three days of public celebrations and state banquets.

The wedding was judged to be an "act of state" by the government, which decided to give $3 million to pay for the event. Several million dollars more will be spent on security. The date, June 9, was chosen because it was judged as an auspicious day according to traditional fortunetelling.

– C. J.

Small Town Savors Princess Connection

BELMONT, MASS.

THE princess lived here.

Belmont, Mass., a town of 26,000 just west of Boston, never expected to be the focus of the Japanese media. But when the announcement was made that Masako Owada would wed Crown Prince Naruhito on June 9, Japanese press descended on this small town where the future crown princess and her family lived from 1979 to 1981.

Film rolled and cameras clicked. One Japanese magazine shot a 50-page fashion special all in Belmont.

Paul Graham, manager of Champions Sporting Goods, says three Nippon television crews have been in his store. They interviewed him, his daughter, his wife, and the store owner. "One of my sons was at the high school at the same time she was," Mr. Graham says. "I think it's good for the town; it's going to be good for the merchants," he says, referring to the publicity that has brought a steady trickle of Japanese tourists to town. The store sells T-shirts that read "Belmont, Massachusetts, Home of Princess Masako" and have her picture on them.

Although many US press accounts have made it seem as if Japanese tourists have poured into Belmont by busloads, the only real onslaught has been by the Japanese press. According to Peter Dale of DL Transnational Associates, Inc., the travel tours his company has arranged were primarily for press groups.

The word from Shoko Hirao, Japanese marketing specialist at Massachusetts Port Authority, is wait and see. There was a rumor that the couple's honeymoon might include a stop in the Cambridge/Belmont area. If that proves true, "honeymoon" packages may be great sellers to Japanese tourists, she says.

The US press made it seem as if Japanese tourists had poured into Belmont, but the only onslaught has been Japanese press.

"Six months ago, Belmont wasn't on the map as far as being a hot attraction," says Ashley McCown with the Massachusetts Office of Travel and Tourism. Because of the interest generated by the Japanese press, people have latched onto Belmont, she says.

All this leads to the question of what comes first, the tourists or the marketing?

Most of Belmont's townspeople interviewed for this article indicated that while the brouhaha might seem a bit overblown at times, it's fun to have the attention.

"It's exciting. Little Belmont will be remembered," says Carin Weiner, owner of Windsor Travel. In her storefront is a sign that reads: "Belmont and Windsor Travel Welcome Japan, Summer 1993." She and other women in the office say they're looking forward to the day of the wedding, when the Belmont Women's Club will celebrate by hosting a gala concert and reception.

Still, there are some who prefer to ignore the hoopla, especially privacy-seeking residents on beautiful Juniper Road, where the Owada family once lived. One store clerk, who asked that her name not be used, scoffed: "I think it's pathetic. She only lived here for two years. The town is looking at it as a way to make money."

Belmont High School is one of three tourist spots chosen by the town's board of selectmen for people interested in the princess. The other two are Belmont Public Libary (which is displaying special books about Japan) and Belmont center, where several merchants are offering an information guide (English and Japanese versions) and a few Belmont souvenirs.

Lillian Katz, a longtime teacher in Belmont who instructed Ms. Owada and her twin sisters in English, will travel to Japan with her husband to present a town proclamation. It states that the town of Belmont is "deeply proud of its relationship with the future Crown Princess of Japan" and extends "its warmest congratulations" to Owada and her entire family on the occasion of the wedding. "We're all thrilled," Ms. Katz says.

– Kirsten A. Conover

ODYSSEY

Perhaps nothing captures Denmark's spirit like these gardens – part amusement park, part county fair, part botanical exhibit

Danes Mark Tivoli's 150 Years of Delight

PHOTOS FROM © TIVOLI

BAZAAR BUILDING: *For the gardens' jubilee anniversary, 134,000 bulbs were planted, buildings were renovated, and a hefty cultural program arranged.*

By Howard LaFranchi
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

COPENHAGEN

IN an entry from his 1843 journal, Hans Christian Andersen wrote, "was in Tivoli today ... started my Chinese fairy tale."

So there it is: proof, in one brief and rather enigmatic reference to a visit to Copenhagen's Tivoli gardens, that the legendary storyteller was a true Dane. He went to Tivoli, and it inspired him.

As the Danes themselves will tell you, nothing captures the Danish spirit quite like these gardens – part amusement park, part county fair, part architectural museum, and part botanical exhibit – with their fountains, theaters, bright lights, restaurants, ice cream and pastry stands, all packed into one big block in the center of Copenhagen.

Nothing better defines this country than this 20-acre expression of genteel pleasure, orderly nature, simple fun, and worldly exoticism tamed by the rather unworldly homogeneity that is Denmark.

Even the most phlegmatic Danes become rhapsodic about their Tivoli. Take a stroll around the park, and the normally serious and trustworthy Danes start telling wild, button-popping tales of great-grandfathers who *really* originated the idea for such a garden.

Tivoli now ranks as the world's seventh most popular amusement park – after the Disney parks, among others, which were themselves the fruit of a visit to Tivoli by Walt Disney in the early 1950s. That Tivoli was the "seventh something" had one Danish woman insisting to a recent first-time visitor that the garden "must be one of the seven wonders of the world."

Every year, the opening of Tivoli symbolizes the arrival of spring, a welcome moment in Scandinavia. But this year Tivoli's opening in late April gave the Danes even more to celebrate – 1993 is the park's 150th year.

YOUNG DRIVER: *Walt Disney's visit here in the 1950s inspired him to build Disneyland. Last year, the Copenhagen park had 4.1 million visitors.*

Tall tales aside, it was Georg Carstensen (a Danish journalist who had grown up in very different surroundings in Algeria) who got the go-ahead from King Christian VIII for an amusement park just outside the Danish capital's 19th-century ramparts. According to legend, the king, an absolute ruler with little tolerance for frivolity, nevertheless took a keen interest in Mr. Carstensen's argument that "people engaged in fun do not engage in politics." Tivoli opened in 1843 to 175,000 first-year visitors. Last year, 4.1 million visitors – 60 percent of them Danes – stopped in before the gates closed for the winter in mid-September.

To commemorate this year's jubilee anniversary, Tivoli planted 134,000 bulbs, completely refurbished the *belle époque* brownstone entrance, added a ride based on the Andersen fairy tales and a restaurant (the park's 28th) on an 18th-century model frigate, and fashioned a summer entertainment lineup that includes Danish-born Victor Borge, Jessye Norman, a week of performances by the New York City Ballet, and 144 classical concerts.

Tivoli also created a little local controversy, which never hurts any attraction's notoriety and popular success. The cause of the tempest was this year's Tivoli poster, taken from a whirling fantasy of a painting by British artist David Hockney.

Tivoli customarily commissions a poster to mark each new season, with tradition calling for a Danish artist to do the work. In past years, posters have drawn on one of the park's motifs – a merry-go-round horse, the park's sumptuous flowers, the young Harlequin of Tivoli's famed commedia dell'arte theater – but this year's poster is an abstract, taken from a 1992 Hockney work "24th V. N. oil painting."

Tivoli founder Georg Carstensen won over dour King Christian VIII by arguing that 'people engaged in fun do not engage in politics.'

The 150th-anniversary poster was too much for many local artists and intellectuals. "The Tivoli poster communicates but one message – the snobbery that is at the heart of all provincialism," wrote Danish artist Per Arnoldi in the Copenhagen daily, Politiken. Showing, by way of an accompanying picture, that the poster was actually half of the Hockney painting, Mr. Arnoldi joked about "rumors" that Copenhagen's Dyrehaysbakken park, a less classy version of Tivoli, was furiously negotiating to make a poster out of the second half.

"We simply decided to do something a bit different, and since it was a special year, we asked Mr. Hockney if he wouldn't provide something," said Orson Nielsen, Tivoli's director of information. "We think this year's poster is marvelous," he added, "and if there is this fuss about it, maybe it's because we have never asked Mr. Arnoldi to do one of our posters."

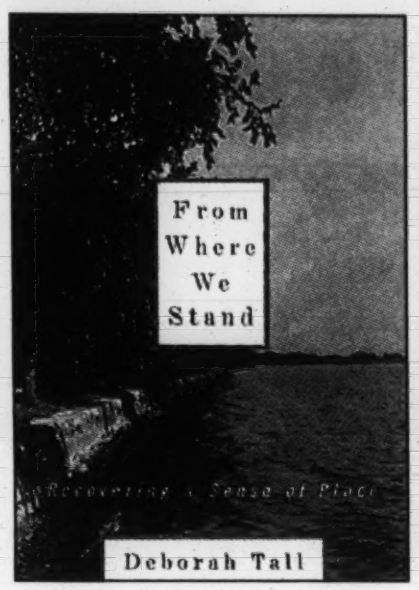
Such talk may not send Arnoldi running to Tivoli, but with or without him the park is expecting 500,000 additional visitors this year. Many of them will be foreigners, but most, as in past years, will be Danes – including many seniors, who take advantage of specially priced season tickets to visit the park nearly every day.

That is just part of the Tivoli charm: the Danish ladies, some in sturdy walking shoes, some wearing fancy hats, who come to have an ice cream cone and watch the world, or at least a certain vision of it, from the comfort of their own park bench.

BOOKS

In Isolation, a Sense of Place

By Mary Warner Marien



FROM WHERE WE STAND: RECOVERING A SENSE OF PLACE
By Deborah Tall
Alfred A. Knopf, 241 pp., $22

FALLING OFF THE MAP: SOME LONELY PLACES OF THE WORLD
By Pico Iyer
Alfred A. Knopf, 190 pp., $20

IN her latest book, poet Deborah Tall recalls the 10-year process through which she renounced a rootless suburban childhood by hunkering down in the aesthetically and historically rich Finger Lakes area of upstate New York. Before she arrived, Tall envisioned upstate in calendar-art terms: small towns, traditional farming, unspoiled vistas. What she found was a landscape whose beguiling scenery belies recalcitrant rural poverty, a sullen economy, and history largely forgotten by the locals.

An academic position at Hobart and William Smith Colleges in Geneva, N.Y., at the head of Seneca Lake, brought her and her family from New York City to this modest semirural region. For Tall and her husband, the move was freighted with mental baggage. It signaled a farewell to a peripatetic existence that short-term jobs and the absence of children affords American academics. Tall feared that settling down might be settling for too little.

To ease her wariness, Tall closely attended to the distinctive geography, history, and contemporary politics of Geneva and the Seneca Lake area. "From Where We Stand" is her journal of those discoveries, intermingled with meditation on the moral intricacies of growing up late.

Short sections on native Americans, military expeditions, white settlement, industry, local issues, and art are interwoven with incidents in Tall's personal and professional life. The result is an unusual experiment in autobiography, wherein self is elucidated through the experience of place.

Since Tall so caringly coaxes a history of habitation into legibility, readers will be ambushed by the book's conclusion. Geneva's tattered civic life and poor economy eventually overwhelm her. Her memoir ends with a terse sermon on what she believes to be the area's flaws, followed by the news that Tall and her family have moved to Ithaca, the cosmopolitan academic city at the foot of Cayuga Lake. Such a swift reversal of sentiment serves to undermine the authenticity of Tall's decade-long project.

Unlike Deborah Tall, Pico Iyer does not seek to belong to a particular place, nor to find himself in relation to it. "Falling Off the Map," a collection of his travel essays, gets its piquancy from his being an outsider. The premise for the compilation is that life in countries that are psychologically, geographically, or politically secluded can be bizarrely strained. For different reasons, Iyer argues, Paraguay, Iceland, Bhutan, and Cuba stand outside the global mainstream.

Sometimes loneliness is deemed an advantage, as Iyer suggests has happened in Australia. But as an international outcast, North Korea is bloated with self-congratulatory hyperbole. In the capital, Pyongyang, one can tour the "Happiness-Filled Pleasure Park,"then visit the Grand People's Study House, stopping to browse through a bestseller titled "An Earthly Paradise for the People."

Time has diluted Iyer's concept somewhat. The political and monetary chaos in Argentina has stabilized since he visited in 1990. Since 1991, Vietnam has increasingly entered the world community. But Bhutan remains deliberately remote, and Iceland's perpetually spartan terrain still encourages restlessness.

Ultimately, it does not matter that the Cuba Iyer has visited for the last five years may be just months from imploding. As he showed in his well regarded account "Video Night in Kathmandu," Iyer's singular outlook and powers of observation do not grow stale because circumstances have changed.

Whereas much travel writing is thick description, intoning the charms of the past, Iyer is a postmodern tourist, drawn to the textures of the present. He is alive to video culture and what he terms the emergent global "single polyglot multiculture." His whimsy makes him a more effective social critic than any ideologue.

Side by side, these books address the perennial conundrum of travel literature. If fully experiencing one place helps us to understand ourselves and other places, is it equally true that the wandering travel writer gains critical distance through the act of travel?

■ *Mary Warner Marien, who writes from LaFayette, N.Y., teaches fine arts at Syracuse University.*

The Work of Place Making

DIGGING in the garden, cutting worms and centipedes in two, finding glass shards and tin cans, chips of tile, medicine bottles, cold-cream jars – their mouths crammed with dirt – a chair from a child's dollhouse, the rim of a china cup. Deeper: a Seneca arrowhead, a strip of berry-colored cloth. My yard is a patch of history I dig up, push seeds into, and then stand back from with hubris when it erupts in neat rows of green. I am, more than anywhere else in the landscape, a creature of the garden, happy to invest my sweat here, to watch daily for nearly invisible increments of growth in our lettuce or green beans and breathe the mingled scents of herbs. Here I can feel the active love of attachment, the work of place making.

– From 'Where We Stand: Recovering a Sense of Place'

Portable Computing: Catch the Wave

REGULAR readers of this column may remember my travails with laptops. Years ago the Monitor supplied me with a Tandy TRS-80 Model 100, which was great in its day but didn't run DOS. Last August, the paper sent me a Toshiba T1000SE, which ran DOS but didn't have a hard disk. Finally in February, computer prices dropped to the point I could buy my own portable.

That purchase has changed the way I work. Perhaps a portable computer will do the same for you.

The machine – a Twinhead SlimNote – wasn't cheap. But I got a less-than-six-pound portable with a fast 486 microprocessor, a 200-megabyte hard drive, eight megabytes of random-access memory, and a trackball (which works like a mouse but is much more convenient for portable computing). Those of you who understand those numbers will realize I didn't skimp. About the only thing I didn't opt for was the color screen.

The SlimNote does double duty. In the office, it hooks into my Lantastic network and works like a server. That means any program or data on the portable can be accessed by my desktop computer, which is slower but has a better keyboard and a big color screen. On the road, the SlimNote shines even brighter.

In my pre-SlimNote days, it took hours to prepare for a road trip. I'd print out reams of background articles. I'd try to think of all the possibly useful contacts in my computer database and print them out, too. If I forgot something, that was too bad.

Now, I just pack the SlimNote. All my important programs and data are already stored there. (That's the beauty of networking: You can keep your data on any server, even if it's a notebook.) The machine makes trip preparation nearly forget-proof. Too bad you can't pack socks and toiletries on a hard drive.

COMPUTERS FOR THE REST OF US

But the greatest reward of portable computing, I'm finding, is the writing itself.

Critics of computing often complain about the dehumanization of technology. Writers, they say, should feel the scratch of the pen or, at the very least, the clunk of typewriter keys against the platen. The clickety-click of a computer keyboard, they say, can never engage the writer in quite the same way.

I think that's bunk.

If the tactile-writing crowd could follow me after a day on the road, they'd discover some spectacular writing spots. I've written stories while watching California surfers ride the Pacific. I've written a few yards from a husband and wife watching their toddlers find Easter eggs. I've typed while a girl and boy fished the Mississippi River in the rain.

I can't prove those experiences make me a better writer. But I wouldn't trade them for anything. This story was inspired – and partly written – in that quiet spot by the Mississippi River. I'm finishing it here in my living room. In a few minutes, I'll climb the stairs to my home-based office to transmit the story to Boston by modem.

Thomas Jefferson, I'm told, moved from room to room in Monticello to follow the sun while he worked. I find myself doing the same thing – finding a sunny nook in the house or an offbeat parking space on the road – to do my most creative work. He used the writing instruments of his day. I use mine. That's the answer to the computer critics.

Those who say creativity is limited by the tools we use miss the mark. Creativity always finds ways to be expressed. Technology never supplants thought.

It's clear, however, that technology changes how we do things. As I click away in the living room, I can't help wondering about the future of my office upstairs.

The more I use my portable computer, the less I'm satisfied with that room. The idea of having an office – even one in the home – seems increasingly outmoded.

It's a place to make phone calls and collect paper. But it's not my most creative space. Could portable computing one day make it obsolete?

Sure. Surfers on the Pacific are much more fun than four walls.

– Laurent Belsie

■ *Laurent Belsie lives far from the Pacific Ocean in western Pennsylvania. But you can reach him on CompuServe (70541,3654) or Prodigy (BXGN44A).*

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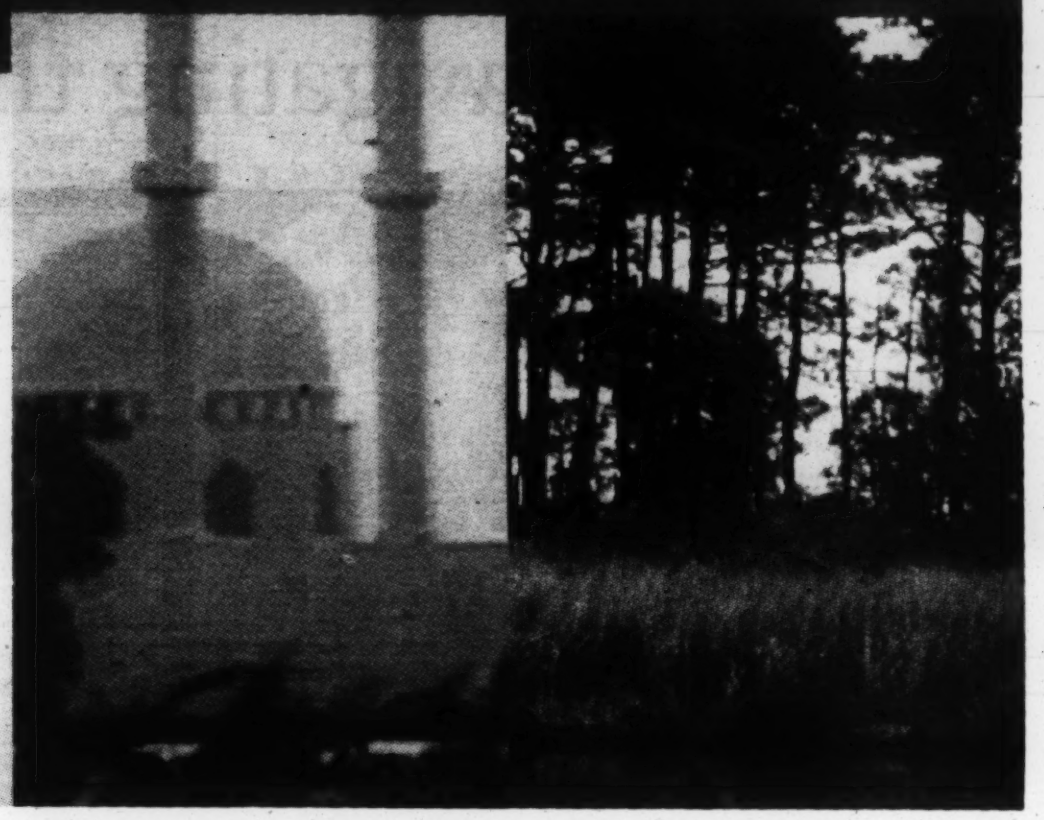

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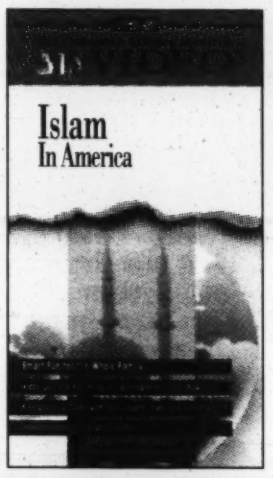

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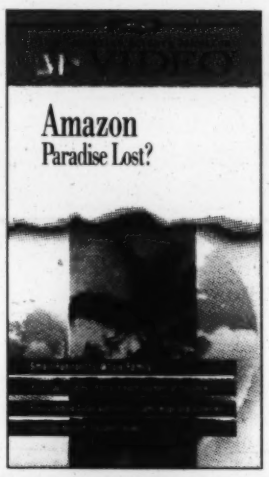

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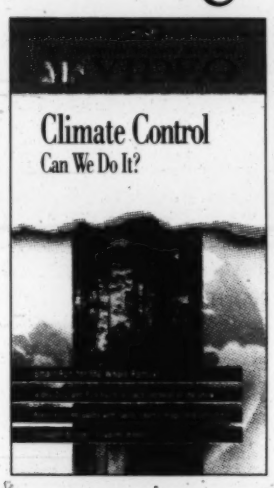

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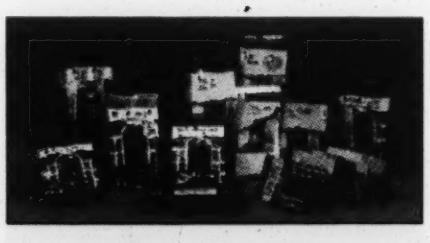

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The Home Forum

Navigating the Wild Places

KATHARINA RICH PERLOW GALLERY, NEW YORK

'THE PUBLIC THEATRE' (1990): *Oil on canvas, 37 by 74 in., by Steven Katz.*

IF you ask me what comes to mind when I think of wilderness, I'll say it's the Green River Canyon in southwestern Wyoming. I'll tell you about camping there for a night – the beauty and the isolation. If you've ever been camping, you'll probably nod in recognition. Then I'll tell you that it may sound odd, but I found wilderness again just two days later on a park bench off Broadway in the heart of New York City. At that, you might ask me to explain.

* * *

The Green River Canyon stretches through the Flaming Gorge National Recreation Area for 40 miles, north to south. The murky, mineral-rich river skirts towering canyon walls layered with vivid color.

Searching for a remote place to camp, I turned off the park's paved road and onto a dirt road marked only by a worn wooden sign painted with white letters. It read: "4x4 only." Shifting my truck into gear, I bounced and rattled down the dry, rutted path over hills and down to the river flood plain 10 miles off.

The tracks disappeared at a bend in the river where circles of fire stones and skeletons of trout marked the remnants of a campsite. I wondered how old it was. Weeks? Years? Centuries? I imagined a circle of Ute Indians at the site, scaling fish with hand-hewn tools and reciting old legends by the crackling fire. I hammered in my tent stakes around a level patch near the river's shore.

Clouds rolled in from the west, and a cool wind swept over the canyon walls, snuffing out the flame of my tiny butane stove. As I forced down the last lukewarm mouthfuls of bean soup, flashes from the west grabbed my attention. Low-flying thunderheads had appeared in a matter of minutes. I dashed to the truck, rolled up the windows, and unpacked the rainfly for the tent.

Half an hour later the sun had disappeared, and the time between the lightning and its accompanying thunder had shortened, by my count, to three seconds. I sat on the damp vinyl floor of my tent and peered out through a hole in the seams. Unwelcome thoughts circled in my mind like the gnats and mosquitoes around my lantern. I realized that rain would render the road impassable and cause the river to rise. I wondered if the metal tips of my tent poles might offer a beacon to restless thunderbolts. And nobody on Earth knew where I was or even what state I was in. I was a good day's walk to a telephone.

I thought of folding up the tent and fleeing, but I stayed put. Perhaps it was cowardice, perhaps recklessness, or maybe I just remembered how excited I'd been to discover the road and the flood plain. I also probably figured that spending the night in my tent beat sleeping in the crowded cabin of my truck. In any event, I hoped for the best.

Throughout the night, as soon as I managed a promising series of yawns or a full minute with closed eyelids, lightning illuminated the sky and reminded me of the tiny size and thin, permeable fabric of my tent. Later, I awoke startled by noises in the brush. Just the patter of tiny mice, just rustling grass, I assured myself.

Shortly after dawn, my tent warmed up beyond my level of comfort. I crawled out, cursed the pitiable amount of sleep I'd been allotted, and caught sight of the canyon wall. The storm had passed without shedding a single raindrop. The red-pink morning sun lit up the sandstone and glinted off the water through a drifting veil of mist.

I laid my towel on the bank and waded into the water, shivering. As I soaped away the night's sweaty panic, a trout jumped high out of the water near my left knee. I caught a glimpse of its scales, shimmering and rainbow-colored in the sunlight. As the ripples trailed away and the silence returned, I realized that I'd persevered. I bathed in the Green River, miles from anybody, encircled by stillness, color, serenity, and supernal light.

* * *

Two days later, I flew from Denver to attend a wedding in New York City. At the airport, I called my friend Claudia, with whom I was planning to stay. She told me she had to work late, but she would meet me at the corner of Fifth and Broadway at 9 p.m.

Facing fear and finding peace is a gift as fleeting as it is fine. I opened my eyes to the city at night, and I knew that I'd conquered the wilderness.

"9 p.m.? What do I do until then?"

"You're in New York," she said. "Soak up the atmosphere or something."

While I'd visited New York before, I'd never faced it without an experienced guide. I studied the menu in the airport café for entrees that might quell my hunger but found none. I considered passing the time there, watching planes lift off and sipping a $4 Coke. Then I thought of the bustling city, the heat, and the mad, swirling Friday-evening traffic. I imagined wandering around, absorbing the scenery, pondering the people, and watching my back. I hailed a cab.

My new leather shoes chafed my toes as I headed down Fifth Avenue along Central Park. My tie seemed to squeeze at my neck, and I felt my arms sweating against the long sleeves of my button-down. On a bench, a bearded man in a dark black overcoat sat perched at the edge, following my every move with an appraising leer.

"First time in the city, right?"

I shook my head defiantly. "Actually, no."

The man continued to stare. I stuffed my hands in my front pockets and turned them out. "I don't have any change," I said.

The man smiled and burst into laughter. "Just a little piece of advice," he said. "When you're in New York, things go a lot better if you try to look like you know what you're doing."

The man stood up and sauntered away down the street. Suddenly, I thought of my wallet. I checked my pocket and felt for the familiar square lump. It was still there. "Don't be paranoid," I muttered to myself.

At the next corner, I stood waiting to cross with my toes dangling over the edge of the curb. A bright yellow school bus made a right-hand turn, and soon the black lettering on its side flashed by my face, no more than three inches from the tip of my nose. I stepped back to a safer distance and caught my breath.

Down the block, shopkeepers pulled graffiti-laden metal curtains over their store windows and shot suspicious glances at me as I hustled by. I tried to keep my gaze pointed straight ahead, but still I noticed shadowy alleys, stray dogs, and overflowing piles of garbage. On every block I searched for emergency phones, escape routes, open windows to yell up to. As a group of jacketed teenagers approached, I crossed to the other side. I kept my eyes shifting, scanning, searching. Passing taxis grew hard to resist.

On the next block, I noticed a hot-dog vendor folding up the red and yellow umbrella above his cart. "Okay," I whispered. "He can't charge me more than $5 for a hot dog. But should I ask him how much, or just hand him the five like I already know? What if he tries to rip me off?" I glanced around the cart nervously for a price list but found none.

"You still open?" I asked.

"You bet," he replied.

"How much for a hot dog?" I braced myself for a struggle, for an unpleasant session of haggling in exchange for my dinner.

In the Nose of a Locomotive, Skimming Through the Dark

PAUL THEROUX, the travel writer, once wrote, "Ever since childhood, when I lived within earshot of the Boston and Maine, I have seldom heard a train go by and not wished that I was on it."

For the people of Maine, those lines have a special poignancy, since passenger trains in this state went the way of passenger pigeons 30 years ago. It is a great irony for Mainers that if we wish to partake of the romance of the rails, we must avail ourselves of Canadian hospitality: The Canadian Atlantic Railway still carries passengers from Halifax to Montreal, and Maine is the only place where this foreign railroad traverses US soil, with four scheduled stops and two flagstops.

The only thing more wonderful than having this train in one's backyard is knowing one of the engineers who drives it. Steve Bennett has been with the Canadian Atlantic for 20 years. When I first met him about a year ago and learned what he did for a living, he suddenly became infinitely big in my eyes, and I felt young enough and small enough to slip neatly into his pocket. For a child there is only one type of engineer – the choo-choo type – and Steve's association with the railroad reawakened sentiment in me that I thought had disappeared with my boyhood.

I must have totally surprised Steve with the spirit and animation of my response. What's it like? How fast can you go? How do you know when to blow the whistle? Whew! Were these questions coming out of me? Yes, but in the voice of my 10-year-old heart. Before I knew it, I had Steve backed into a corner, and he uttered the magic phrase that won his release: "Would you like to ride in the locomotive?"

I was sure I had misheard him. I made him repeat the invitation two more times. The next thing I knew, we were waiting at the station in McAdam, New Brunswick, just over the border. It was 9:30 in the evening. Early spring. A sliver of new moon smiled in a velvet sky. A brisk chill put an edge on the clean-smelling Canadian air. From somewhere far down the rails, a whistle split the night. A riot of lights spread itself out on the curve, followed by the silver train. My heart leapt. As the train slipped into the station, I felt as if it were wrapping itself around me. I abandoned myself to it completely, following Steve up the vertical ladder into the locomotive. With every step I took up the ladder, I felt as if five years were slipping away, until I was the 10-year-old again, embracing a dream.

We were high above the rails, the roar of the 3,000-horsepower engine at our backs. There were three chairs – one for Steve, another for Jimmy Larson, the co-engineer, and one for me. And then we began to move out into the darkness, the headlamp of the locomotive caressing the rails before us. The locomotive bounced lightly as it felt its way down the line. It was smooth, unbelievably smooth. It was like flying.

"This is pretty ho-hum for me," said Steve as he throttled up and the engine raised its voice. But I was riveted. I felt like a flightless bird who had suddenly been given wings. Once out of the station, the landscape darkened. There was the occasional village, the distant lighted window, but on the whole we were moving through a world that, relative to the might and muscle of the train, seemed as if it had been painted for our viewing pleasure. And like the Flemish paintings of old, this one had its vivid detail: a small, flower-laden grave next to the tracks somewhere in New Brunswick. The story goes that the grave is that of a baby who was thrown from the train by its immigrant mother some 80 years ago – a single woman fearing scandal at her western destination. The local townsfolk had found the nameless one and given it proper burial. Ever since, the care of the grave had been handed down, from generation to generation, like a legacy.

THE train moved into Maine, through woodland, through bog, through field, over river and stream, whistling and clanging at crossings, as if to celebrate the simple fact of its being. Sitting in the nose of a locomotive, I had the feeling that only the train was alive, moving through a landscape suspended in time, and that one could personify the train the way rivers have been personified. And like a river, it is constant, defining the settlements through which it passes as "railway towns." I could think of no finer distinction for a northern Maine village.

My journey ended in Brownville Junction, Maine. It is a good, fitting name for a place that hosts a train. For three hours I had sat, by special invitation, in a locomotive that had taken me safely through the dark, from village to village, pulling 10 cars of dozing Canadians. I envied Steve his years at the throttle, but I was grateful for my three hours as his guest. As I stood by my car and watched the train edge off toward French Canada, I felt as if I were saying goodbye to a lost love. But I was consoled by the realization that dreams, when they do come true, are always worth the wait.

Robert Klose

"How much you got?" he asked. I froze.

"Boy, are you jumpy!" The vendor chuckled. "Take it easy, pal. Hot dogs are $1."

On a bench on Broadway near Fifth, I sat down to eat my hot dog and reflect on my first solo flight in the Big Apple. As the sun set, the street lights and apartment windows lit up. Taxicabs burst from curbs and roared off, laying tracks of red taillight. Theater marquees flashed garishly against the rows of slate-gray buildings, and the moonlight cast the sky in an impossibly deep blue, a shade given only to big cities on the water. The breeze rustled the leaves and bushes behind me in Central Park.

I closed my eyes for a moment to concentrate on the richness of the sound, the soothing hum of the metropolis. In my mind's eye, the skyscrapers turned to canyon walls, the avenue to a slow-flowing river. Honking horns became the screech of birds settling for the night, and the scraping and shuffling of pedestrians changed to the galloping clatter of elk.

As I chewed on that hot dog, I felt the same sense of melancholic regret that I felt standing with my toes buried in the silty bed of the Green River. Facing fear and finding peace is a gift as fleeting as it is fine. I opened my eyes to the city at night, and I knew that once again, I'd conquered the wilderness.

* * *

I think wilderness is any place that tests our ability to navigate. I'm not talking about reading maps and compasses, keeping up with tour guides, or making sense of data from weather satellites. I'm talking about moving through the world using nothing but our inherent tools: logic, memory, emotion, and the senses.

In two vastly different places, in the space of a few days, I learned that the challenge of the wilderness has less to do with geography, and more to do with wrestling the grizzly bears in our own minds, whenever they may growl.

Sam Walker

Eternity Is Timeless Being

I WAS doing a crossword puzzle. The clue was "unending time." The answer had eight letters, and the last letter was a "y." I filled in the word "eternity."

But I had to smile to myself as I did so. From my first introduction to the spiritual meaning of the Bible, through the teachings of Christian Science, I had been learning something radically different from this material view of eternity. Eternity is *not* unending time; it is the spiritual truth of *timeless* being.

This is something wonderful to know. It liberates us from time restraints as well as from feeling we have too much time on our hands. Time is not, ultimately, a real factor in our lives. God, Spirit, is the only true factor determining our experiences. And since God Himself is eternal, His image and likeness—which the Bible declares spiritual man to be—must be as eternal as He is. To the degree that we comprehend that we are each, in reality, this eternal, spiritual man of God's creating, we disentangle ourselves from the domination of time.

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

In the Bible, John's Gospel states, "This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent." As we yield to the spiritual ideas that appear to our thought, we experience such "knowing" of what God really is. Then we realize more and more how divine Life's, God's, eternality alone determines man's ability to act.

Understanding this makes a practical difference. One time I left my house late for an appointment and spotted an acquaintance. It occurred to me that it would be loving to stop and talk to this individual and to nurture the fledgling interest she had shown in understanding more of her relationship with God. At the same time I thought that I couldn't possibly stop because I was late already! But there was *another* way of thinking about the question of what to do. I glimpsed the spiritual idea that there is always the freedom to do what it is right to do. So I stopped to talk to my friend and we had a lively conversation. Much to my surprise, everything else went so smoothly that I arrived at my appointment a few minutes early!

What had happened? When I obeyed the thought that came to me of man's freedom to do whatever it is right to do, I was submitting to divine Spirit's view of my situation. I was knowing God and His Christ instead of accepting notions of material limitation. And the operation of the law of "life eternal" overruled the limitations imposed by believing in time's supposed rule over us.

This small experience impressed on me the accuracy of a statement made by Mary Baker Eddy, the author of *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*. In this book she writes: "Life is eternal. We should find this out, and begin the demonstration thereof."

The view that life *will be* eternal sometime in the future, after having let time run its course, is a little like expecting to get up to the summit of a mountain by walking along a road that goes round and round its base. Just as we'd have to leave the road in order to start climbing the mountain, we've got to leave behind our meek submission to the limitations of time in order to start gaining the understanding and demonstration of eternity. *Now* is the time to challenge the pervasive concept of time prayerfully. Let's not look to the future for a promise of unending time. Let's cherish instead the ever-present spiritual truth that time has no genuine beginning, no actual reality, in the eternal allness of God. Being *is* timeless.

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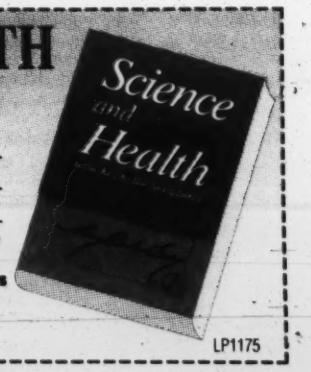


LP1175

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

EDITORIALS

Secure Cambodia's Victory

PUTTING aside threats from Khmer Rouge guerrillas, and astonishing the international community, fully 90 percent of the 4.7 million Cambodian population turned out to vote in UN-sponsored elections last week. The vote is a testament to the resilience of the Cambodian people, who in the late 1970s and early 1980s were subjected to some of the most brutal terrors of the period. It is also a victory for the UN, which has spent $2 billion in Cambodia since 1991 and held to a course of multiparty elections despite Khmer attacks killing 10 soldiers and officials. (The Japanese contingent performing their first UN peacekeeping duty are due thanks.)

But the celebration may be short-lived if a new and unsettling development is unchecked. Election results for the new 120-member Cambodian assembly are favoring the opposition party led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Now the current government led by Hun Sen is claiming fraud and wants new elections in three key districts. These stalling tactics, on the eve of defeat, represent a betrayal of the Cambodian people and of the peaceful elections process.

The United Nations is rightly resisting Hun Sen's tactic. Supported by China and the United States, the UN has declared the elections valid. Hun Sen spokesmen deny the government is trying to nullify the election. But they refuse to recognize the results. UN officials have asked the Cambodian government for evidence of vote-tampering, but none has been forthcoming.

The UN has committed far too much time and effort to allow Hun Sen to succeed. It is doubtful the regime in Phnom Penh could follow the recent Burmese example, where the government rejected an overwhelming vote against it in 1991 and closed off the country. The Cambodian government does have 100,000 soldiers, and it has ominously warned of uncontrolled "riots" if Sihanouk wins. But Hun Sen's strategy may be to ride out the official UN mandate in Cambodia, which expires in August, by keeping things messy, and everyone off balance.

That is why the UN and the international community must stay in Cambodia. It must pressure Sihanouk not illegally to cut a deal allowing the Khmer Rouge back in the process. It must allow Hun Sen a face-saving way out. For the UN to withdraw now would destroy the fragile trust and unity the Cambodians have shown.

Marshall's Paper Trail

THE recent release of the late Thurgood Marshall's private papers by the Library of Congress, and the subsequent publication of excerpts in several newspapers, has raised a storm of criticism from his friends, family, and several former colleagues on the United States Supreme Court.

The documents are said to provide a rare glimpse into the inner workings of the high court on important contemporary issues: abortion, criminal and civil rights, and cases affecting homosexuals. The more than 173,000 pages of documents are said to reinforce the image of justices who put a lot of work, energy, even anguish into their decisions.

The papers' insights into the current court's inner workings are an obvious motivation for making the papers public so soon after his death in January. This caught critics of the move off guard. Yet Justice Marshall's contract with the Library, which he signed on Oct. 24, 1991, said that after his death, "the Collection shall be made available to the public at the discretion of the Library." The contract also says, "Use of the materials constituting this gift shall be limited to private study on the premises of the Library by researchers or scholars engaged in serious research." The Library's action falls within a reasonable interpretation of the contract.

In a letter to the Librarian of Congress, Chief Justice William Rehnquist noted that a majority of his colleagues felt the release improper and that the Library's action might force donors of judicial papers to archive them elsewhere. That is heavy-handed: The issue lies less in the Library's decision than in the stipulations Marshall set in his contract, something other justices can remedy as they decide how they want their papers handled.

Some argue that laying deliberations bare, as Marshall's papers do, threatens the court's legitimacy in the public's eyes. Yet as Marshall's papers seem to show, making the papers public could have the opposite effect.

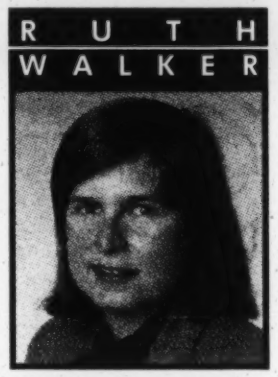
The strongest case for the early release is that if his papers contain arguments with the power to effect immediate changes in society, this activist justice would have wanted them in the public domain sooner, not later.

During the final years of his tenure on the high court, Justice Marshall became increasingly isolated philosophically as the court moved to the right. His willingness to leave the release of his papers to the discretion of the Library of Congress, rather than to arbitrary timetables, may well have been his final "dissenting opinion."

Northern Irish Uncertainties

NOW that Northern Ireland's local elections have taken place, political leaders there, as well as their interlocutors in London and Dublin, should be gearing up for a resumption of the talks about the future of the province; but it may take a jump-start to get things moving again.

The talks, which ran from last April to November, should be viewed as remarkable for having occurred at all rather than disappointing for being inconclusive.



Still, Sir Patrick Mayhew, British secretary of state for Northern Ireland, was quite bullish the other day when he came to see us at the Monitor: "Further dialogue is essential."

The talks have involved the four "constitutional" parties; that is, the (mostly Catholic) nationalists – who identify as Irish and aspire to a unified Ireland – and the (mostly Protestant) unionists, who identify as British and want to remain part of Britain. Sinn Fein, the political wing of the illegal Irish Republican Army, has not been part of the talks.

Talks had been on hold until the May 19 local elections for 26 city and county councils. The vote was expected in some quarters to be a sort of referendum on the talks themselves, with the parties that had participated in the talks rewarded at the polls. It didn't work quite that way, however.

The elections wrought relatively little change, and unionists, now as before, control most councils; but some nonparticipating parties posted slight gains.

A British draft proposal, intended to serve as a starting point for resumed talks, has been badly received by the nationalists; but Dublin will be putting together its own counterproposal and can be expected to be working closely with the British government to get talks going. The prime ministers of the two countries are to meet later this month.

Meanwhile, moderate nationalist leader John Hume, head of the Social Democratic and Labour Party, has been talking with Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Fein.

Dublin is not thrilled with this, especially given the resumption of the IRA's bombing campaign in recent days, and unionists can be assumed to be horrified.

One interpretation reads the Hume-Adams talks, which any day now may yield some sort of result, or collapse completely, as an attempt to find out what kind of deal could be possible whereby Sinn Fein might renounce violence yet still save face and get to the negotiating table.

It is the failure to renounce violence that has, appropriately, excluded Sinn Fein from talks – and this by broad consensus, not just the British government.

But some see signs of war-weariness on the part of Sinn Fein, and some adjusting recently of the position on the IRA's armed struggle.

The intensity of the unionists' feelings about all this is not to be underestimated.

If, however, one accepts the premise that disputes get settled only when all parties feel properly represented at the table, the long view is that a comprehensive settlement must include Sinn Fein.

For the moment, though, the talks process is fragile enough without Sinn Fein. Getting the parties that were at the table back to the table may be challenge enough for Sir Patrick and his counterparts in Dublin.

■ *Ruth Walker is the Monitor's deputy editor.*

Don't Tax Fuel That Generates Revenue

LETTERS

The authors of the article "Costly, Subsidized Energy Not Necessary," May 4, complain that "Washington spends tens of billions of dollars a year on subsidies, mainly to the nuclear and fossil fuel industries." Nothing could be further from the truth with respect to oil. The United States Department of Energy reported in a November 1992 study that oil *generated* nearly $2.2 billion in federal revenues more than it received in tax breaks in fiscal year 1992. However, renewable energy sources cost the government an additional $635 million.

The authors argue that "it's better to let all energy options compete on economic merit" and do not acknowledge or object to the fact that federal taxes paid by oil companies help "subsidize" their favorite programs – energy conservation and the development of renewable energy supplies. They see no inconsistency between supporting a tax that would take even more money away from homeowners and their support for energy efficiency. Obviously, they believe that government is wiser in spending taxpayer dollars than taxpayers themselves.

William O'Keefe ***Washington***
Executive Vice President
American Petroleum Institute

Employment and immigrants

The tone of the front-page article "Panel Studies Impact of New Immigrants on US Jobs, Wages," May 6, suggests that immigrants, by accepting low-paying jobs, are responsible for the unemployment of Americans. However, workers do not depress their own wages, employers do. The Commission of Immigration Reform, rather than perpetuating the myth that the people most exploited by the economic system are somehow running it, could put its energies to better use by examining big agriculture's exploitation of immigrant labor. The price we pay for this is far too great to keep looking the other way or blaming the newest and poorest members of our work force.

Shelley Macy ***Bellingham, Wash.***

OPINION/ESSAYS

Burma Remains in Limbo

International community fails to increase pressure against junta

By Mya Maung

SINCE a military junta seized power in Burma in 1988, two opposing policies toward the illegitimate government have been followed by the outside world: "constructive engagement" and "disengagement."

Constructive engagement is followed by the most important of Burma's neighboring countries: China, Thailand, and the ASEAN group. The disengagement policy was proposed by a group of Nobel Peace Laureates at the 49th United Nations Commission on Human Rights in February 1993. So far, the disengagement policy has not been wholly adopted or endorsed by the UN, the United States, the European Community, and many other free-world countries, despite adoption of resolutions charging the ruling junta with violating the fundamental human rights of the Burmese people. The junta is not honoring the result of the 1990 multiparty election that was won by a landslide by the opposition party, the National League for Democracy (NLD) of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, who has been under house arrest since 1989.

On Jan. 1, 1993, after three years of propagandizing the democratization of Burma, the junta arbitrarily selected some 720 delegates to attend the National Convention under duress with no freedom of expression permitted against the military regime.

At the same time, "the leading role for the Burmese army," or the generals in Burmese politics, was forced upon delegates in drafting the constitution. The convention has been going on and off for more than three months, and on April 9 it was postponed until June 7, 1993, after more than three months of discussing and drafting the 15 chapter headings of the so-called "Constitution of the People."

At the same time, the generals have succeeded in forcing the delegates to incorporate the chapter on *Tatmadaw*, the Army, as one of the chapters in the constitution.

As a recent political ploy to boost its image abroad, the junta has twice allowed informal fact-finding visits to Burma made by present and former members of the US House of Representatives. In February 1993, the visitors were Reps. William Archer (R) of Texas and Nancy Johnson (R) of Connecticut. The military officials took them on a five-day tour of different regions. On March 25, Mr. Archer and Ms. Johnson testified before the US House Committee on Foreign Affairs, concerning US policy toward Burma and Southeast Asia. Based upon this brief experience, each of them spoke of the "impressive" pace of political and economic change in Burma during the preceding 18 months.

Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (R) of California challenged that assessment, and a UN official who visited Burma twice this year described the situation as reported to the UN Commission on Human Rights as "depressive."

AT the same hearing, Miriam Marshall Segal, a US businesswoman who owns the Myanmar-American Fishery Company, a joint venture formed in 1990 with the Myanmar Fishery Enterprise, recommended the US give Burma most favored nation (MFN) status.

On March 28, two former US congressmen, Robert Leggett and Seymour Halpern, were permitted by the junta to meet with five prominent dissidents who have been in prison in Rangoon's Insein Jail, since 1989.

They reportedly met with U Tin U, the first president of the National League for Democracy (NLD), who has been jailed since 1989; U Kyi Maung, successor to U Tin U, jailed since 1990, and U Win Tin, an executive member of the NLD; Zar Ganar, a famous dissident comedian, and Nay Min, a dissident lawyer, in Insein Jail, Rangoon. The congressmen told the press that the five detainees seemed to be in good health.

Recently, they privately lobbied for the junta by showing video tapes at the UN in New York.

Last year, from April 8 to 24, Michael Aris, the English husband of Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, was granted permission to visit his wife, who has been under house arrest since 1989, for the third time.

Unlike his previous visits, the April visit was not widely publicized internationally. In December 1992, Mr. Aris indicated a possible hunger strike by his wife and her deteriorating physical condition, which he stated at a press conference back in December 1992.

Meanwhile, the nomenclatural system of political patronage and promotion of commanders that began in 1988 continues with full force.

On the auspicious Armed Forces Day of March 27, 1993, eleven major generals of the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) were suddenly promoted to lieutenant generals as their names appeared on the list of guests at the dinner party hosted by the chairman of the SLORC, General Than Shwe. Among them were Major General Khin Nynt (the powerful military intelligence chief and Secretary No. 1 of the SLORC), Major General Tin U (the Chief of Staff of the Army and Secretary No. 2 of the SLORC), Major General Myo Nyunt (Rangoon commander), Major General Maung Aye (Eastern Command), and Major General Tun Kyi (ex-Central Command). Thus, as of today the total number of lieutenant generals in the 21-member SLORC is 16, more than triple the original number of five.

It would be wonderful if the US would spearhead a drive to end international acquiescence to the repressive military rule over Burma against the will of the Burmese people.

Yet a May 19 policy statement by President Clinton, after meeting with eight Nobel Peace Laureates, offered no immediate hope of significant change in US policy toward the Burmese junta.

International acquiescence in Burmese political repression seems to indicate that nations across the world are willing to set aside human-rights concerns to trade with a dictatorial regime.

■ *Mya Maung is a professor of finance at Boston College.*

A Spokesman Above Politics?

THE naming of David R. Gergen as Mr. Clinton's spokesman is a 5-percent decision, whereas a critical mass of decisions nearer 60 percent is needed for real change.

Mr. Gergen is familiar as the tall, cerebral, Republican, Northern European-looking half of the public television duo "Gergen and Shields," who spends much of his air time chuckling at Boston Irish Democrat Mark Shields's observations.

Gergen is temperate, a bridge-builder. He is an experienced White House hand, a presidential-campaign veteran. He has more than dabbled in journalism: He was managing editor of Public Opinion magazine, when it was published by the American Enterprise Institute; more recently he has been editor at large of US News & World Report.

From one perspective, Gergen has been parked in journalism. His business is politics. He is a Yale college alum and a Harvard Law School graduate. He did not take up a lawyer's life. He floated into journalism as a time out from political operations.

We see a lot of this in-and-outing today. Perhaps one stint of service to government on the inside might be all right for journalists. But I find the ethics of revolving door journalism as troubling as I do the in-and-outing of government officials as lobbyists.

RICHARD J. CATTANI

I do not think journalists should indicate or declare their political orientation. Privately they may be independents, Republicans, or Democrats, in the American context. But professionally they should have no politics.

I can safely say that no one knows how I have voted in any election – because I have never indicated how I have voted – not even to my own family or friends. I do vote. But how I vote is my own business, just as in other fundamental matters – religion, health care, friendships – my decisions are protected as private, as I see it, by the United States Constitution. Professionally the journalists's private views should be of no one's interest because they should be irrelevant to his representing clearly, fairly, the information citizens need for decisions.

Journalists must not be propagandists. Thus, Mr. Gergen starts out with half a compromise as Clinton's spokesman.

The other half of the compromise is Gergen's GOP orientation. He has worked for Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, George Bush, and Ronald Reagan. Gergen's having GOP roots helps Clinton make the argument that he intends to build a bipartisan approach. Let's back him there.

Gergen was in the Bush entourage in 1980. I saw him briefly a little before midnight at the Detroit convention center, when all the world thought that Gerald Ford was about to join Reagan in a historic compromise between the moderate and conservative GOP wings. "I can't talk now," he said, passing me. He was ashen. His man, he thought, had lost out on the vice presidency.

Early the next morning my editor in Boston wanted me to lead my story with what George Bush knew when he finally got the word that the Ford deal was off and Reagan had no alternative but to accept the man he least wanted, Bush. It was real early. In his pajamas, Gergen met me in the hall of the Renaissance hotel to help me with a piece of the story.

Gergen came into the Reagan administration along with James Baker III and other pragmatic Bush aides. It was part of Reagan's genius, demanding self-assurance, to absorb the ablest among his opponent's troops. Gergen likely never abandoned Bush's conviction about the voodoo in Reaganomics.

Gergen is, foremost, an analyst of the American political process. He is fascinated too with the media side, the public personae of the movers, shakers, and talkers.

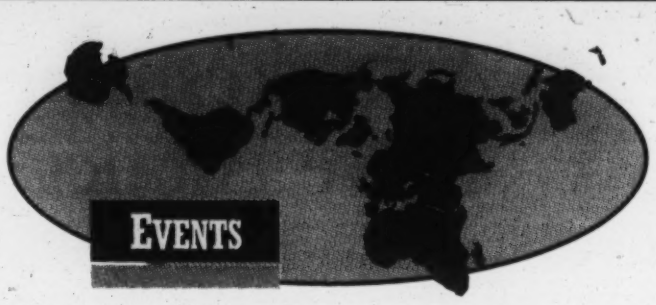
If Gergen needs to draw on some part of his past more than others, it could be the lawyer's training.

He cannot represent both press and president.

He must be the president's advocate, serve at his pleasure, and keep totally mum about any of his own views and ambitions.

Gergen is only a 5-percent solution. The other 50 percent needed to get some wind into the sails of this administration could come with some other high-level staffing changes, but even more in a program that of itself gains bipartisan support.

■ *Richard J. Cattani is the Monitor's editor.*



RUMP YUGOSLAVIA TILTS TO HARD LINE

President Dobrica Cosic of rump Yugoslavia was ousted by a parliamentary no-confidence vote June 1, plunging the country into new confusion and boosting the power of the hard-line faction in Belgrade. Mr. Cosic angered Serb nationalists by his moderate stance and by conducting secret territorial discussions with Croatia, where Serbs occupy nearly one-third of the country. As deputies voted in Belgrade, the besieged Bosnian capital of Sarajevo came under renewed Serb shelling, the latest fighting in 14 months of civil war. In further violence, gunmen in Bosnian army uniforms abducted five civilian Italian aid drivers in central Bosnia on May 30 and killed three of them after marching them into the woods. Meanwhile, besieged Muslim enclaves in eastern Bosnia continued to come under heavy Serb attacks that stymied United Nations relief efforts.

Talks in Pakistan

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and arch-rival Benazir Bhutto agreed May 31 to hold their first talks in five years to try to end Pakistan's political turmoil. The surprise truce was announced in the midst of a fresh political crisis after the dissolution of two provincial assemblies in two days and doubts over the future of the remaining two.

Churchillian furor

Winston Churchill, a member of Parliament who is the grandson of Britain's wartime leader, has provoked howls of outrage over his insistence that "a relentless flow" of immigration is threatening "the British way of life." Politicians and community leaders charge that Mr. Churchill's speech last week – in which he identified large numbers of Indians and Muslims as threats – could fan the flames of hatred.

US-Australia air war

Australia on June 1 stepped up a bitter dispute with the United States over air services between the two countries by ordering Northwest Airlines to cut one of its weekly flights. Washington promptly responded by saying it would retaliate with sanctions against Australia's Qantas. Both moves would take effect on June 30, the date set by Canberra.

Clinton stumps for plan

President Clinton made a campaign-style trip to Milwaukee on June 1 to promote his economic plan and restore his populist image with a visit to the city's working-class South Side. The president and his aides appear confident that they can strike a compromise with moderate Senate Democrats to salvage his deficit-reduction package and reinvigorate his presidency.

High court rulings

The Supreme Court on June 1 refused to bar daily recitations of the Pledge of Allegiance from public elementary schools. The justices, without comment, rejected arguments by an Illinois atheist who objects to the "one nation under God" portion of the pledge. The court also let TV game-show hostess Vanna White sue a VCR manufacturer over a commercial that parodied her.

US economy improves

The US manufacturing economy expanded in May after shrinking the month before, suggesting that overall economic growth is improving, the National Association of Purchasing Management reported June 1. In other economic news, the government reported June 1 that Americans' personal income stagnated in April, held back by a drop in farm subsidies, but their spending surged anyway.

Vacation watch I: Aspin

Defense Secretary Les Aspin vacationed for five days at an expensive Italian hotel during a business trip last week, with the Pentagon picking up much of the cost of the stay for Mr. Aspin's 37-member entourage. Aspin defended his hotel stay, saying that he and a female companion paid for personal expenses.

Vacation watch II: Gergen

"When a president asks for help there is only one good answer: How soon should I start," David Gergen, President's Clinton's new counselor, said May 29. The answer, apparently, is in a few days. Immediately after being appointed, Mr. Gergen and his family left for a holiday in Bermuda that lasts until June 2.

– Compiled by Max Boot

VIETNAM VETS RELIVE THE BATTLE of MEMORIAL DAY

HARRY HERE WAS ON POINT. HE STARTS YELLIN' "WHERE WERE YOU, BILL?"
THEN WE COVERED HIM WITH AUTOMATIC BOOING!
WE HAD HIM UP AGAINST THE WALL!
DA NANG
USARMY
DANZIGER
The Christian Science Monitor

As Clinton sets course on overseas involvements, he strives hard to avoid another quagmire

No More Vietnams

By Peter Grier
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

THIS week Washington looked at the world and saw the specter of the Vietnam War.

In the decades since the United States Embassy in Saigon was evacuated in the face of Hanoi's victory, Vietnam memories have always been part of America's summer – starting Memorial Day holiday. But they loomed especially large this year – both for the visible symbol of President Clinton's appearance at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, and in the less-noted substance of his speech.

America's military still seems deeply scarred by its involvement in a war that divided the US public. Its leaders long ago vowed to try to avoid the messy entanglement of a limited conflict, one they felt they fought with one hand tied behind their backs because of domestic political concerns.

THE WORLD FROM WASHINGTON

In recent weeks, as he pressed for allied air strikes in Bosnia and a more forceful Western policy in the Balkans, Mr. Clinton has seemed to many in the military to be nearing a Vietnam-like quagmire. Even when Clinton's "lift and strike" policy was on the point of implementation, high-level armed forces officials grumbled that the White House had no clear idea of what it wanted the policy to accomplish.

Allied pressure backed the US off from its more forceful approach. Now the Vietnam analogy for Bosnia has won out in Washington as well, at least for the time being.

Clinton seemed to be speaking to the military's concern in his speech at the Vietnam War Memorial wall when he talked of "lessons" the US should agree on.

"If the day should come when our servicemen and women must again go into combat, let us all resolve they will go with the training, the equipment, the support necessary to win, and most important of all, with a clear mission to win," he said.

Clinton repeated those sentiments at Arlington National Cemetery – where the more decorous crowd did not include hecklers complaining about the president's avoidance of the Vietnam draft.

Reassurance of the military may have been only part of the message behind a presidential holiday spent appearing at the Pentagon's shrines.

The foreign policy soul of the new administration has seemed to be up for debate in recent days, and Clinton may well have thought it necessary to strike a firm, yet prudent pose for US allies as well.

At an off-the-record luncheon for reporters last week a high-level State Department official set off a policy flap by declaring that the US might withdraw from many customary foreign leadership roles.

The US must "define the extent of its commitment and make a commitment commensurate with those realities," said the official, who was eventually revealed by news reports as Peter Tarnoff, undersecretary of state for policy.

It was beside the point that Mr. Tarnoff's comments were at heart banal – what thoughtful leaders would make a practice of international commitments they were not capable of keeping? In the world of geopolitics, where appearance is substance, Secretary of State Warren Christopher himself was rushed into play to combat the implication of weakness and US withdrawal from involvement in Europe.

Secretary Christopher insisted that Tarnoff was not speaking for the administration and that the US would continue to defend its interests overseas. "There is no derogation of our powers and our responsibility to lead," he said.